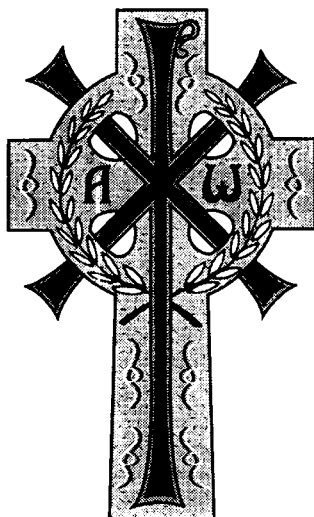


THE EGYPTIAN DESERT IN THE IRISH BOGS



THE BYZANTINE CHARACTER OF
EARLY CELTIC MONASTICISM

by
Father Gregory Telepneff

CENTER FOR TRADITIONALIST
ORTHODOX STUDIES

The Egyptian Desert in the Irish Bogs

THE EGYPTIAN DESERT IN THE IRISH BOGS

The Byzantine Character of
Early Celtic Monasticism

by
Father Gregory Telepneff

Second Edition



Etna, California

2001

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGUE CARD NUMBER

98-74707

© 1998 by

Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies

ISBN 0-911165-37-1

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Reverend Dr. Gregory Telepneff received the B.A. degree from Yale University. He also holds an M.A. degree in theology from the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in New Brunswick, New Jersey, a Licentiate in Theology from the Saint Sophia Orthodox Theological Seminary in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, and a doctoral degree in Patristics from the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley. A clergyman of the American Exarchate of the True (Old Calendar) Orthodox Church of Greece (Synod of Metropolitan Cyprian), Father Gregory currently serves the Old Holy Virgin Cathedral (Russian Orthodox Church Abroad) in San Francisco, California.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my wife, Presbyteria Maria Telepneff, I owe a debt of thanks for her invaluable help in the chapter on art and architecture in this book. Her artist's eye caught similarities between Egyptian and Celtic art which I would not have otherwise noticed. I am also indebted to Mr. Jurij Hiltajczuk for his aid in the translation of various Celtic liturgical texts.

CONTENTS

Chapter 1	9
Introduction	
Chapter 2	15
The Era of Saint Patrick	
Chapter 3	24
Eastern Forms of Monasticism	
Chapter 4	28
Daily Monastic Life	
Chapter 5	50
Travel and Language	
Chapter 6	54
Art and Architecture	
Chapter 7	61
Liturgics	
Chapter 8	71
Particulars of the Celtic Eucharist	
Chapter 9	75
Conclusion	
Index	84



Orthodox monastic centers in Hibernia

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Celtic Christianity is a subject which currently enjoys a general popularity. Unfortunately, this popularity is largely a dilettantish infatuation with its "mystical" (critics would say "mythical") dimensions, an attraction to the romantic reputation which seems to emanate from all things Celtic. For the Eastern Orthodox, in particular, Celtic Christianity holds a special appeal, but not because it is somehow "exotic"; rather, the Faith of the ancient Irish has an air of familiarity for an Orthodox, a certain quality which he intuitively identifies with his own Faith. This statement will no doubt sound odd to those who might imagine that Eastern Orthodoxy and Celtic Christianity are about as incongruous as the Egyptian desert and the Irish bogs. But as more and more Easterners have found themselves citizens of the Western world, and as more and more Westerners have found themselves converts in the Eastern Church, the rôle of Eastern influence on the inception and development of Christianity in Hibernia, the westernmost reach of the ancient world, has come to receive greater and greater recognition. (Here, an important point must be made: Ireland proper was known in antiquity as either Hibernia or Scottia. When speaking of Celtic Christianity, therefore, we are referring to the ethnic group then inhabiting what is now Ireland and Scotland.¹)

For example, it is widely known that remarkable similarities exist between the monasticism of the Christian Celts and the monasticism of the Orthodox Easterners, similarities which are simply too widespread and extend to too many aspects of ecclesiastical life to be merely coincidental. To account for these similarities,

¹ Wales, although populated by some Celtic peoples, is usually treated as an integral part of Britain and therefore falls outside the scope of our present study (cf. John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches* [Chicago, IL: 1974], p. 36).

it is only natural for an Eastern Orthodox thinker to refer to the cultural hegemony achieved by the Christianized Roman Empire—the “Byzantine Empire,” as Western historiography would have it. Again, this may strike many as an odd, even extravagant, claim, since, firstly, Hibernia never passed under the rule of the Roman Empire, whether pagan or Christian; and, secondly, Rome was succumbing to barbarian domination at the very time the first Celtic converts to Christianity were being made. To the former point, we answer that, like many other pagan peoples, in accepting Christianity (and, of necessity, civilization with it), the Celts came into the expansive cultural sphere of influence of Byzantium, even if they remained outside of its political boundaries; to the latter point, we answer that it is a seriously truncated view of history (one ubiquitous in Western thought since the unobjective scholarship of Edward Gibbon [1737–1794]) which confuses the fall of the *City* of Rome with the the fall of the *Empire* of Rome. When Rome, the city, was finally sacked by the Germanic forces of Odoacer (433–493) in 476, only the Western provinces of Rome, the empire, fell with it; the Roman Empire itself remained alive and well in its Eastern provinces, with power centralized in Rome’s sister city, Byzantium—otherwise known as Constantinople (modern-day İstanbul), *i.e.*, the City of Saint Constantine the Great (274–337),² rechristened “New Rome” when it became the Imperial Capital of this first Christian Roman Emperor.

We intend, therefore, to demonstrate the Eastern character of early Celtic monasticism, especially that of the sixth century, by exploring its connection with Byzantine Egypt, a region which decisively influenced its inception and development. The earliest Christianization of Hibernia is shrouded in much conjecture; certainly by the fifth century, at the time of the great missionary Apostle to the Celts, Saint Patrick of Armagh (*ca.* 385–*ca.* 461),³ Christianity had already gained a rather tenuous exis-

² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on May 21.

³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 17.

tence. The state of monasticism in the Celtic lands of that time, if it existed in any organized form, is largely unknown. We can, however, surmise that owing to the remarkably widespread monasticism that we encounter in the sixth century, a period of time from which we have the first substantial historical sources, at least some monastic seeds had already been planted in the fifth century by Saint Patrick and his followers. Moreover, although Saint Patrick himself is often represented as a man with no ties to, or influence on, monasticism whatsoever, this is in total contradiction to the historical and literary sources and, hence, simply untenable. Unfortunately, this false assumption has clouded much of the historical thought about this period, leaving our knowledge of the development of the sixth-century Celtic Church in more a state of confusion than is necessary. Indeed, it is more likely that, after his birth in Western Britain (contemporary Wales), Saint Patrick spent his formative years, spiritually speaking, in Gaul—certainly at Auxerre, perhaps also at Lérins.⁴ His own writings bear this out.

But, as we have stated, what we mainly wish to trace in this study are those Eastern, and primarily Egyptian, influences on both the internal forms (such as monastic spirituality) and external forms (such as liturgics and Christian art) of Celtic monasticism. We will specifically note some of these remarkable similarities; determine exactly from where in the East these influences derived; and, finally, consider whether this influence was mainly direct or indirect. As regards the latter, we can be fairly certain that if this Oriental influence came through a Western European medium, Gaul is the only real possibility. Some have pointed to the possibility of the Church in Britain as a source of influence, but in the opinion of many historians, this is unlikely. The fifth and sixth centuries in British ecclesiastical life were a time of decay,

⁴ Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church* (London: 1961), p. 24.

both externally and internally.⁵ That such a Church could have been the center of spiritual influence outside of its borders is hardly probable.⁶ Further, we will avoid the mistake some make of artificially separating the "Irish" from the "Scottish" Churches. The two are rather a cultural and ethnic unit, allowing, of course, for some variation locally. Hence, the monasticism of places such as Candida Casa and Lindisfarne is an integral part of the Celtic Church with which we will deal. This does need to be qualified in one sense, however, for we are not speaking of an administrative unity, here, but rather of a unity of religious life. (Indeed, such administrative unity cannot be found locally in the Church in Ireland proper at this time!)

We might also mention, in passing, the possibility of Spain as an intermediary between East and West. Although some aspects of Eastern influence on Church life in Hibernia may indeed have derived from Spain—ecclesiastical art is one example—, there are not to be found any indications of the sort of thriving monastic life in Spain which would have been necessary in order to have such a considerable effect on Celtic monasticism.

Thus, Gaul remains a possible major source of Eastern influence on Celtic monasticism. In the final analysis, Gallic monasticism itself was directly influenced by the East. Therefore, the idea that such Oriental themes came through Gaul appears at first sight attractive indeed, if one recalls that Saint Patrick probably received his monastic training in Gaul, and also that (as we shall see) the major source of Eastern influence on Celtic monasticism appears to have been Saint John Cassian the Roman (*ca.*

⁵ Heinrich Zimmer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland* (London: 1902), p. 65.

⁶ Even in Wales, where some degree of spiritual life was in evidence, it may be noted that Welsh monasticism was not itself of the highly ascetic nature of that of the Celts, with their leanings toward anchoritism, and hence cannot account for the Celtic "monastic Church" of the sixth century (*cf.* John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

360-435),⁷ who ended his days in Southern Gaul in the early fifth century. Unfortunately, this issue is not quite so simple or so straightforward. Firstly, Gallic monasticism may have been subject to some degree of local variation. Secondly, it is often difficult to define what is meant by "direct influence." If Saint Cassian's writings on Egyptian monasticism were simply deposited in Hibernia without Gallic intermediaries, but also without Egyptian monastics present to supervise the proper understanding and application of the monastic precepts contained in these writings, then how "direct" is this influence? How much were such writings changed to fit local circumstances and needs, either by Gallic or Egyptian monastics, or by the Celts themselves? Or, if it was through monastics from Gaul that Oriental monastic writings came into the Celtic lands, then how pure is this Byzantine influence? This is a complicated and probably not completely resolvable question, because of the scantiness of any direct travel references. The best that can be done, and, indeed, what this study in a somewhat incomplete manner endeavors to do (incomplete because of the overwhelming nature of monastic sources that can be analyzed), is to explore monastic "rules" and "penitentials," lives of the Saints, liturgics, and ecclesiastical art; we will try to get at the very heart of monasticism and see what can be discovered of precise Eastern influences from a basic knowledge of the general characteristics of the various types of Oriental monasticism. Through this exploration of the best-known monastic writings of the Orthodox East and of the Celtic Church, we hope to offer some helpful insights and to clear up some of the common misunderstandings and misconceptions among many historians concerning this topic.

Finally, we encounter further difficulties when we try to categorize the various forms of Eastern Orthodox monasticism that have arisen historically. This is a complicated issue. Although we

⁷ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on February 28 in common years and February 29 in leap years.

can generally point out certain characteristics of what one could call the monasticism of Egypt or of Palestine, these various types are not as clear-cut as they are in the later West, and we run the risk of creating artificial categories (Orthodoxy, for example, has never had the notion of separate "religious orders"). There is much overlapping and a mutual exchange of influences in Byzantine monasticism. In fact, when we speak of Coptic⁸ monasticism, we have further to differentiate slightly between that of the Thebaïd or Upper Nile River (Southern Egypt) and that of the Lower Nile River in the proximity of Alexandria (Northern Egypt). Later, we will briefly describe the various types of Eastern monasticism according to geographic area. At this point, let us merely keep in mind the universal distinction between the three major forms that monastic life can assume: *cœnobitism*, life totally in common; *anchoritism* or *eremitism*, the life of a monastic solitary; and *semi-eremitism*, an intermediate form in which monastics spend most of their time alone, yet gather at certain times (usually twice a week or so) for common prayer. This last form, it seems, first assumed definite form in the *λαύραι* (*lauras*) of Palestine.⁹ We shall make frequent reference to these three categories throughout this study.

⁸ "Copt" is an Anglicization of the Arabic *qubṭ*, from the Coptic *gyptios* or *kyptaios*, which is itself derived from the Greek Αἰγύπτιοι, "Egyptians." Thus, following standard scholarly convention, we use the word "Coptic" throughout this study as synonymous with "Egyptian," *i.e.*, as a general term indicating the ethnic descendants of ancient (pre-Christian) Egyptians and their distinct Afro-Asiatic tongue (now dead, save for liturgical usage). As such, our use of "Coptic" should *not* be confused with its more common popular meaning as a specific term designating Egyptian Monophysites, *viz.*, members of the so-called Coptic Orthodox Church, a heretical body of Christians which has been cut off from Eastern Orthodox Christianity for many centuries.

⁹ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City* (Crestwood, NY: 1966), pp. 15-16, 69, 72, 168; George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, (Belmont, MA: 1975), Vol. 1, p. 114.

CHAPTER 2

THE ERA OF SAINT PATRICK

As already stated, the widespread and vibrant monasticism manifest in the Celtic lands of the sixth century could not have existed unless the groundwork for it had already been laid. Furthermore, it is highly likely that some form of Christianity—even if totally unorganized—existed before the time of Saint Patrick of Armagh, his labors as a missionary, and the work of his contemporary disciples. The conclusion, then, of many ecclesiastical historians is that Saint Patrick himself had at least some monastic or ascetic training with which he encouraged many Celts in this, the highest form of the Orthodox Christian life. This clears up much of the bewilderment concerning the state of the Celtic Church in the following century; moreover, it is strongly borne out as fact by the available historical writings, especially those of Saint Patrick himself. Regrettably, the monastic element in Saint Patrick's works has been flatly ignored by many writing on this period of the Celtic Church.

We are at a loss to understand sources that deny “any and all” monastic or ascetic strains in Saint Patrick's works. More than once, he mentions the “consecrated virgins” whom he influenced in their way of life.¹⁰ That this was indeed a *monastic* way of life is demonstrated by Saint Patrick's reference to the “vows” which these women had taken,¹¹ clearly a monastic practice. Furthermore, Saint Patrick writes of the many “sons and daughters of kings [who] were monks and virgins of Christ”¹²—one of whom was

¹⁰ St. Patrick, “Confession,” in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick* (New York, NY: 1953), Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, pp. 34–37.

¹¹ *Idem*, “Canons,” *ibid.*, p. 52.

¹² *Idem*, “Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus,” *ibid.*, p. 44.

Saint Brigid of Kildare († *ca.* 525),¹³ the daughter of a Celtic chieftain Baptized by Saint Patrick. This monastic influence on the Hibernian aristocracy helps to account for the later sixth-century rôle of hereditary claims in the governance of monastic houses. Other references to "monks" or "monks and virgins" can also be found.¹⁴ Again, of special interest is one reference to a Canon which restricted the wandering of monastics from place to place without the permission of their monastic superior.¹⁵ This foreshadows what is considered an innovation of the later Benedictine Rule; however, this element is also found in the monasticism of Gaul,¹⁶ and, moreover, such a restriction on the movement of monastics is directly found in some Byzantine monastic literature, including the writings of Saint Pachomios the Great (*ca.* 286–346).¹⁷

Perhaps much of what may simply be a misunderstanding of monastic life itself underlies the aforementioned false impression of the life and work of Saint Patrick; that is, as the matter is explained by the noted Celticist John Thomas McNeill (1885–1975), "[Saint] Patrick's was an ascetical Christianity... How purely, overtly, 'monastic,' is open to interpretation."¹⁸ We must keep in mind that even in the East, the cradle of monasticism, it took some time for monastic life to assume the organized form with which it is associated in the minds of most Westerners today. Compared to the strict organization of Western or Roman Catholic monasticism, the East still retains an informality that renders much classification of Orthodox monastic life quite artificial. This fact must be strongly emphasized if we are to understand the interaction between Oriental and Occidental monasticism; mo-

¹³ The Orthodox Church commemorates her on February 1.

¹⁴ St. Patrick, "Fragments," in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick* (New York, NY: 1953), Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 48.

¹⁵ *Idem*, "Canons," *ibid.*, pp. 51, 54.

¹⁶ "Rule of Cæsarius," in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquity*, ed. W. Smith and S. Cheetham (London: 1880), Vol. II, p. 1236 ff.

¹⁷ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on May 15.

¹⁸ John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

nastic systems will not be found to have been literally uprooted and transplanted into Celtic lands. As for the Church of Saint Patrick's time, then, just such a lack of "organized monasticism" is indeed what one finds anywhere, in any country, when looking at the historical growth of monastic life.

Indeed, we will allow that the statement that there existed no "organized monasticism" during the era of Saint Patrick is perhaps largely true. But it is false to deny *any* monastic influence, for Saint Patrick's writings do, in fact, reveal the "ascetical Christianity" that he preached. His own life was undeniably one of asceticism. Saint Patrick speaks of habitually rising "before daylight" to pray, and in fact praying "many times a day."¹⁹ Saint Patrick strictly fasted as an Orthodox Christian;²⁰ he also wholeheartedly embraced poverty²¹ and desired and prayed for Martyrdom.²² Each of these taken by itself is not evidence of a monastic life; but taken together, along with the tone of genuine monastic humility which rings throughout Saint Patrick's writings and his constant efforts, to the point of exhaustion in his missionary work—drawing many images, here, from Saint Paul the Apostle († *ca.* 67),²³ whose life and whose ideas of treating the body harshly²⁴ no doubt greatly influenced Saint Patrick—, all add up to a clearly ascetic picture.

We may also search historical records of Saint Patrick's youth and early adulthood in order to determine from whence this influence came. Again, though born probably in Wales, according to his own writings Saint Patrick spent some seven years in

¹⁹ St. Patrick, "Confession," in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick, op. cit.*, Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 29 and June 30.

²⁴ Cf. I Corinthians 9:27.

Gaul,²⁵ certainly at the monastery of Saint Germanos of Auxerre (ca. 378–448),²⁶ and perhaps also at Lérins in Burgundy.²⁷ Lérins, however, is not an attractive choice on one count especially: as a monastic center, it stressed learning more than anything else, and Saint Patrick was neither a well-educated man nor a gifted writer.²⁸ On the other hand, Lérins would have interesting implications for us. Founded by Saint Honoratus of Arles (ca. 350–429),²⁹ who spent some time learning monasticism in the East and, further, associated with Saint John Cassian when the latter came to Gaul, Lérins would present one of the links with the East for which we are searching. Unfortunately, there is some disagreement as to the type of monasticism that thrived there: whether it was a Palestinian form of the semi-eremitic *lavras* or the purely cœnobitic monasticism of Saint Pachomios in Egypt. Even less is known of the monasticism of Auxerre, although we can at least be sure that there was no stress on the higher form of eremitic life which was to characterize later Hibernian monasticism. Our understanding of the type of monasticism under which Saint Patrick was formed must remain within the realm of speculation; we can only be certain that there was no stress on the extreme asceticism of eremitic life.

Subsequent to his time in Gaul, Saint Patrick was Consecrated a Hierarch, perhaps specifically in order to do missionary work in Hibernia.³⁰ This was around 432. The nature of his work among the

²⁵ St. Patrick, "Confession," in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick, op. cit.*, Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 35; *idem*, "Sayings of Patrick," *ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on July 31.

²⁷ Margaret Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (New York, NY: 1961), p. 38.

²⁸ Ludwig Bieler, "Introduction," in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick, op. cit.*, Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 8.

²⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 16.

³⁰ Ludwig Bieler, "Introduction," in *The Works of St. Patrick; St. Secundinus, Hymn on St. Patrick, op. cit.*, Vol. xvii of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 6.

Celts, then, is well-known: Saint Patrick was a missionary, an "Equal-to-the-Apostles." As a traveling ascetic, he preached the Gospel of Christ, Ordaining Deacons, Priests, and possibly even Bishops (we know of several Celtic Hierarchs who were contemporaries of Saint Patrick), and establishing some form of organized Church life. It appears likely that Saint Patrick endeavored to establish some (albeit, as already indicated, "unorganized") monastic life, but subordinate to the Celtic Bishops.³¹ Such a system appears consistent with what we know of the Gallic Church at this time as well.

As we have already implied and as Saint Patrick's own writings testify, we may characterize the overall ecclesiastical life of fifth-century Hibernia as influenced by Gaul. This picture of Celtic Church life, then, is often represented as totally different from that of sixth-century Hibernia. As it is often stated in a somewhat oversimplified manner, the fifth-century Church in which monasticism, although present, played a definitely secondary rôle to that of Episcopal influence, is replaced by a totally "monastic Church" in the following century.³² Though an oversimplification, this contains much truth. Actually, such a view would presuppose that the fifth-century Church in Hibernia was very similar to the fifth-century Church in Gaul; that is, although there was indeed an organized and at least somewhat thriving monasticism in Gaul at this time, many clergy and Bishops opposed the movement,³³ so that we may doubt just how widespread Celtic monastic life was. As the extent and nature of Gallic monasticism obviously does much to determine the extent and nature of possible influence on Celtic monasticism, we shall return to Gaul. (Remember that when we speak of Gallic monasticism in this period, we are referring to a monasticism also of Eastern Orthodox origin; from where in the East we shall determine later.)

³¹ John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

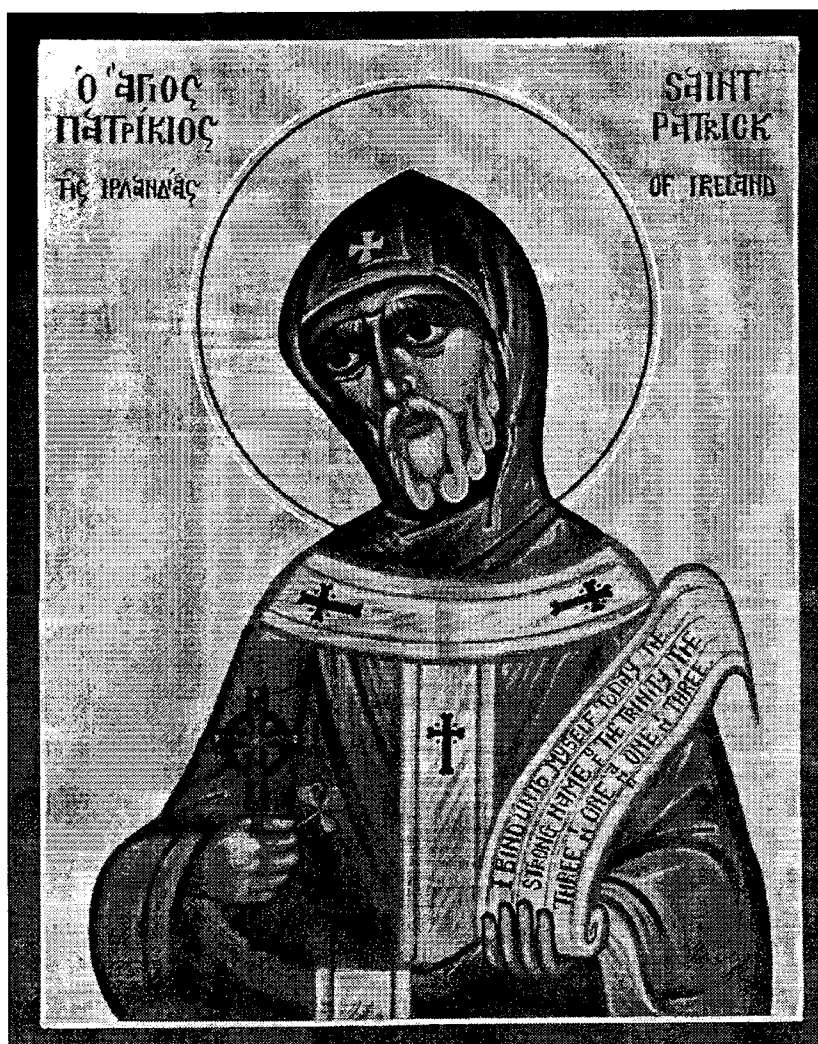
³² *Ibid.*

³³ Nora K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (London: 1955), pp. 96, 132.

Now, when we look at the Celtic Church of the 400s, the tension between monastic and Episcopal influence which one finds in Gaul is not directly applicable. Firstly, we have already indicated the monastic influence on Saint Patrick and the joint monastic-Episcopal groundwork which he established. Secondly, many sixth-century Celtic Abbots were simultaneously Bishops,³⁴ an important fact which many either overlook or simply ignore. Thirdly, our sources are not complete for this period. We know much about monastic life in sixth-century Celtic lands, but not nearly as much concerning ecclesiastical life outside of the monasteries. This is really quite natural, if one recalls that monasteries were the great centers of learning and scholarship in Hibernia and Celtic Scotland. It would, then, stand to reason that mostly monastic sources would be extant; on the other hand, the danger is that we may also be presented with an unbalanced picture of ecclesiastical life as a whole in Hibernia.

Nonetheless, there is, as we have stated, a certain amount of truth to this widely accepted picture of the Celtic Church. The difference between the Celtic Church in the fifth century and the sixth century, while probably not as drastic as some would have it, was nonetheless a *fundamental* one. The rôle of the Bishops, as of the monastic leaders or Abbots, and especially the nature of monastic life itself—all these were somewhat different, with the latter the most fundamentally different. Again, at this point we are tempted immediately to hypothesize that this difference in monastic life—specifically, a more organized, more liturgically centered, and more ascetically oriented monasticism—must be accounted for by heavy Oriental influences. Indeed, considering the nature of this evolving Celtic monasticism, there is really no other

³⁴ *Idem, The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church, op. cit.*, p. 22. Even today, "Abbatial Bishops" or "Episcopal Abbots" are not uncommon in the Orthodox Church; examples include the leader of the Sinaite Church, who is both Archbishop of Mount Sinai and Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, and the leader of the Russian Church, who is both Patriarch of Moscow and Abbot of the Holy Trinity-Saint Sergios *Lavra*.



Saint Patrick of Armagh

explanation. Some of the explanations offered—one of them being that local Celtic social factors, such as the rural nature of the Church in Hibernia, themselves facilitated the growth of monasticism—are helpful in accounting for its rapid growth. But they in no way explain the specific nature of that monasticism, its daily life, its liturgics, and its art and architecture. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is a strong Eastern influence. Again, the similarities are too striking and too widespread to be coincidental. The only problem is that much of this simply cannot be substantiated through any travel records or through knowledge of any large groups of Eastern monastics in Celtic lands.

An additional point should be further clarified before we look at the details of Byzantine monastic life in comparison with sixth-century Celtic monastic life. There is more than one way in which direct influence can be “transmitted,” and in positing a “direct influence” of the East on Hibernia, we are probably dealing with a combination of factors. Nora Kershaw Chadwick (1891–1972), for instance, avers that this fundamental departure in Celtic ecclesiastical life of the sixth century (a much more widespread, more influential, and more ascetic monasticism, and one with different forms of life) is attributable to Oriental influence; yet she feels that the influence is mostly of an intellectual nature³⁵—through Eastern monastic literature rather than any widespread travel back and forth from the Celtic lands to the East. A few things need to be stated in this context. We do know of at least one certain reference to Eastern (Coptic and Armenian) monks in Hibernia.³⁶ We know, further, of Celtic pilgrims (most likely including monastics) to the Holy City of Jerusalem, the Levant, and Egypt.³⁷ We know also of Celtic “travel guides” to the Egyptian monasteries of Nitria and Scetis.³⁸ But how extensive all of this was we do not know;

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁶ Charles Plummer, *Irish Litanies* (London: 1925), pp. 54–75.

³⁷ Aziz S. Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity* (South Bend, IN: 1967), p. 55 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

one would at least assume that more references to such occurrences could be found, if they were at all common. But again, we do not possess an exhaustive catalogue of Celtic writings from this period. And whether such references once existed in now-lost manuscripts remains a matter of conjecture.

But this we do know: in the subsequent history of monasticism in the Eastern Orthodox Church, there are at least two major instances of direct influence on the monastic spirituality of another country through monastic writings alone (in both cases, transmitted chiefly by one monk and his disciples) of ancient Greek, Egyptian, and Syrian monastic Fathers. We are referring, here, to Saint Paisios of Neamţ (1722-1794),³⁹ a Ukrainian monk whose rediscovery of Patristic texts on the Holy Mountain of Athos in Greece rejuvenated Orthodox Christian monasticism in Moldavia, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia considerably,⁴⁰ and Saint Nicodemos the Hagiorite (1748-1809),⁴¹ whose similar work was responsible for a spiritual revival in the Greek Church.⁴² However, the parallels are not quite the same. In the case of Saints Paisios and Nicodemos, we are speaking of a reinvigoration of an already well-established monasticism, whereas in the Celtic lands we are dealing more with a period of formation. Nevertheless, these are telling examples of what effect a body of spiritual literature alone may have. Finally, it is certain that in the Celtic Church not only cœnobites but even anchorites were strongly influenced intellectually by the East⁴³—which at least indirectly supports our hypothesis.

³⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on November 15.

⁴⁰ See Optinnoi Pustyni, *Житие и Писание Молдавского Старца Паисия Величковского* (Moscow: 1847).

⁴¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on July 14.

⁴² See Constantine Cavarnos, *St. Nicodemos the Hagiorite* (Belmont, MA: 1974), Vol. III of *Modern Orthodox Saints*.

⁴³ Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

CHAPTER 3

EASTERN FORMS OF MONASTICISM

Before dealing specifically with the Celtic monasticism that is the object of this study, we must first identify those forms of Eastern Orthodox monasticism which we are trying to trace and the areas where they held forth. When speaking of monasticism in general, there are three major areas of origin to consider, each with its own special characteristics. All are in the East: Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Cappadocia in Asia Minor. At the risk of creating somewhat artificial categories, one can nonetheless make some generalizations about the specific characteristics of the monastic life indigenous to each of these three areas.⁴⁴

First, one may cite Syro-Palestinian monasticism as the center of semi-eremitism (intermediate between coenobitism and anchoritism), best characterized by the *lavras* of Saint Evthymios the Great (377-473)⁴⁵ and Saint Sabbas the Sanctified (439-532).^{46, 47} However, one can find the other two types of monastic life in this area. Also in Syria-Palestine, as characterized by the writings of Saint Jerome of Stridonium (*ca.* 347-420),⁴⁸ one may observe the "erudite" strain of monasticism—the stress on learning and study, particularly on Holy Scripture and dogmatic theology, as a central part of the monastic's life. But the particular contribution of Syro-Palestinian monasticism appears to have been the semi-eremitic *lavras*, a system which had considerable influence on later monas-

⁴⁴ Louis Bouyer clearly, if at times somewhat artificially, indicates these in *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, trans. Mary P. Ryan (New York, NY: 1963), Vol. I of *A History of Christian Spirituality*.

⁴⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 20.

⁴⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on December 5.

⁴⁷ See n. 9 and [St.] John Cassian, "Conferences," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1973), 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.18.

⁴⁸ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 15.

tic development in the entire East. Hence, we should be rather cautious as to the existence of Syro-Palestinian influence in the Celtic lands if we do not find this form of monastic life in Hibernia.

As for Cappadocian monasticism, its most representative and, indeed, most influential figure is the famous Archbishop of Cæsarea, Saint Basil the Great (*ca.* 329–379).⁴⁹ Louis Bouyer, in particular, characterizes this strain of Eastern monasticism as “erudite”⁵⁰ (witness the other figures involved, Saint Gregory the Theologian [*ca.* 330–*ca.* 389]⁵¹ and Saint Gregory of Nyssa [*ca.* 335–*ca.* 394],⁵² all universally regarded as great theologians); however, if by this he is implying that only this area of Oriental monasticism truly stressed the intellectual life of the monastic, then this “erudite” label is misleading. Saint Jerome, as we have seen, was a Palestinian monastic writer (though Roman by birth) who certainly fits into this erudite category. And in Egypt, we may cite Saint Cassian and Evagrius the Solitary (346–399), and perhaps even Saint Macarios the Great (*ca.* 300–390),⁵³ as further examples. (Interestingly, even Saint Pachomios of Lower Egypt stipulates in his monastic rule that all of his monks had to be able to read and to memorize parts of Scripture.⁵⁴) Rather, what most characterizes the monasticism of Cappadocia is the total stress on cœnobitism. Saint Basil calls

⁴⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 1 and January 30.

⁵⁰ Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, trans. Mary P. Ryan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*, pp. 331–368.

⁵¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 25 and January 30. Saint Gregory of Constantinople, as he is also properly designated, is known in Western historiography as “Saint Gregory of Nazianzos,” an unfortunate (and, in fact, polemical) appellation which confuses this Saint with his natural father, Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, or Diocæsarea (†374). (The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 1.)

⁵² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 10.

⁵³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 19.

⁵⁴ See St. Pachomius the Great, “The Rule of St. Pachomius,” in *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo, MI: 1981), Vol. II.

this the only proper form of monastic life, its highest expression,⁵⁵ in opposition to the higher anchoritic ideals that one finds in both Egypt and Syria-Palestine. There are, of course, historical circumstances which influenced Saint Basil in his monastic and ascetic writings; we may mention in particular his desire to bring monasticism within the mainstream of ecclesiastical life. But these factors do not directly concern us, here.

Finally, let us consider Egypt. There were basically two major regions of Coptic monasticism, the Upper Nile River or Thebaid, of which the writings of Saint Pachomios and his school are the best example (indeed the model), and the Lower Nile River, in which we see both the eremitism of Saint Anthony the Great (251-356)⁵⁶ and the cœnobitism of the Scetis-Nitria region (concerning which Saint Cassian writes). Here, as in the case of Palestine, the eremitic life is viewed as the higher level of monastic life, toward which the more advanced monk or nun strives after years of preparation in the *cœnobia*. However, it is generally recognized that only a minority of monastics ever reached this higher and more difficult level. Saint Cassian's writings very clearly express this,⁵⁷ and one can also find the same theme in *The Life of Saint Anthony*. The intermediate state of semi-eremitism is not at all well pronounced in Coptic monasticism; indeed, it is rather severely criticized for its many potential abuses in the writings of Saint Cassian,⁵⁸ and one would be creating artificial categories if he insisted on finding this form in early Coptic monasticism. Also, except for the writings of Saint Jerome (which are anomalous,

⁵⁵ St. Basil the Great, "The Long Rules," in *Ascetical Works* (New York, NY: 1950), Vol. ix of *The Fathers of the Church*, pp. 247-252.

⁵⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 17.

⁵⁷ [St.] John Cassian, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian, op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. xi of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, pp. 219-233.

⁵⁸ *Idem*, "Conferences," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian, op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. xi of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.18.

inasmuch as, though Saint Jerome lived in Bethlehem, Palestine, his monastic writings deal with monasticism in Egypt as well as in Syria-Palestine), there is more stress on learning and study in Egyptian literature than in Syro-Palestinian.

We might briefly and by way of explanation add that, although one certainly can find thriving monastic life in other parts of the East at this time—around the fourth and early fifth centuries—the aforementioned three geographic areas are generally regarded as the original centers of creative and influential monastic thought. Thus, the regions of Sinai, Mesopotamia, and Armenia fall outside our immediate interest.

It must be stated that even in the Orthodox East, Egypt occupied a special place among the three monastic centers; that is, it had the greatest influence on monastic spirituality. We have, for example, the writings of the Palestinian-based Saint Jerome. He was not satisfied with merely writing about Syro-Palestinian monasticism, but also added much concerning Coptic monastics. In addition, we have instances of Palestinian monks (*e.g.*, Saint John Moschos [*ca.* 550–619] and his disciple, Saint Sophronios of Jerusalem [*ca.* 560–638]⁵⁹) undertaking pilgrimages to study the monastic life in Egypt.⁶⁰ Indeed, Saint John Cassian himself did this, and when he decided to expound upon the ideals of monastic life, he choose Egypt, and not Syria-Palestine, for his model. Hence—and this is most significant—we see the preponderant influence of *Egyptian* monasticism even in the East. Therefore, in unravelling the threads of monastic growth and influence in the East—often very tenuous threads—we must acknowledge the leading rôle of Egyptian monasticism, especially Saint Pachomios' institution of the coenobitic life and Saint Anthony's influence on the growth of the anchoritic life.

⁵⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates them on March 11.

⁶⁰ *The Desert Fathers*, trans. Helen Waddell (Ann Arbor, MI: 1957), p. 166.

CHAPTER 4

DAILY MONASTIC LIFE

When searching for influences, direct or indirect, on something as varied in its local manifestations as monasticism, we cannot expect to find monastic "systems" transplanted wholesale from one corner of the earth to another. We must account for some differences that naturally arise when the ideals of one country are imposed upon another—*e.g.*, differences in climate, culture, society, and even language. Such differences, as the subsequent history of Eastern Orthodox monasticism has shown, may be manifested in local expressions of a basic concept that is generally the same. For example, when the monastic ideals of the Egyptian Thebaïd were cultivated in the virgin forests of Russia—transforming the region, in fact, into a "Northern Thebaïd"—, the climate modified both the rules of fasting as well as the nature of manual labor with which the Russian monastics occupied themselves; yet, the basic precepts of their monastic life remained unchanged. Likewise, in looking at daily Celtic monastic life, we must not expect to find an exact duplication of Coptic monasticism; rather, we must look for certain distinctive patterns and concepts.

Particularly *vis-à-vis* what is generally regarded as "typical" Occidental monasticism as it developed in the Roman Church—best exemplified by the cœnobitic rule of Saint Benedict of Nursia (*ca.* 480–*ca.* 547),⁶¹ who was himself influenced by the works of Saint Basil the Great—, what are the distinctive features of Hibernian monasticism? Firstly, speaking very generally, we may say that there was much more of a tendency toward the strict ascetic life of anchoritism, probably from the sixth century onwards,⁶² than elsewhere in Western Europe. We have already seen

⁶¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 14.

⁶² Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ff.

that this is something typical of Syria-Palestine and Egypt. This is a very significant fact, for knowledge of the ideals and manner of anchoritism could only have come to Western Europe from Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian sources.

Another distinctive feature of Celtic monasticism in Western Europe was the highly influential rôle of monastic Abbots, the Elders or leaders of monastic communities. Certainly, their influence on Celtic Church life in general (and not just strictly monastic life) was very great, and at times even "charismatic." This is not unlike the popular reverence which Holy Elders in Egypt and Palestine were also accorded, and their influence in ecclesiastical matters was often considerable. Unfortunately, some confusion has arisen among ecclesiastical historians as to the rôle of Abbots in the Celtic lands. The almost unchallenged influence which they seem at times to have exerted in matters of the Church in Hibernia is often considered a uniquely Celtic phenomenon. Although it is undeniable that the social influence of Hibernian clans was often paralleled by strong hereditary family influence in the Abbotcies,⁶³ it is not true (as maintained by some) that Abbots were simply more influential in ecclesiastical matters than Bishops. The fact of the matter is, many, if not most, of the Bishops were simultaneously monastic Abbots.⁶⁴ Furthermore, not all references to Abbots were limited to monastic community leaders; the word "Abbot" in Celtic lands had, instead, a rather general meaning. Often it was used simply to refer to any Bishop or the Pope of Rome.⁶⁵ Finally, not only Abbots of coenobitic communities, but apparently even some anchorites, were selected as Celtic Bishops.⁶⁶ The reason for such was the people's high regard for the saintly hermit, and in this the Church of Hibernia was very much

⁶³ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints* (London: 1953), p. 53.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints* (Oxford: 1922), Vol. II, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London: 1932), pp.

like the Churches of the East. In light of this, the rôle of Celtic Abbots cannot be considered unique.

Another monastic theme also thought by many to be uniquely "Celtic" is that of "monastic Martyrdom." Now, the idea of monastic life as a voluntary and daily Martyrdom goes back to the very origins of monasticism; we can trace it to *The Life of Saint Anthony* in the fourth century.⁶⁷ What is supposedly unique to the Celtic conception is its division of Martyrdom into three categories or levels: "white," "green," and "red":

White martyrdom consists in a man's abandoning everything he loves for God's sake.... Green martyrdom consists in this, that by means of fasting and labour he frees himself from his evil desires; or suffers toil in penance and repentance. Red martyrdom consists in the endurance of a Cross or death for Christ's sake.⁶⁸

Yet we find these same ideas, if not as explicitly expressed, in *The Life of Saint Pachomios*. Here, for example, the first step in the life of monastics is viewed as renouncing "the world with respect to their families and themselves and to follow the Saviour."⁶⁹ Such a renunciation obviously corresponds to "white Martyrdom"; "green Martyrdom" describes the higher level of asceticism, the life of the anchorite; and "red Martyrdom," of course, applies to those who have "resisted unto blood."⁷⁰ Although it was the place of Celtic monks to expound on these ideas, and even label the stages with specific "colors," the origins of this idea are to be found in Egyptian writings.

Yet another theme found in Celtic monastic writings, again often called "original," is that of voluntary exile or pilgrimage;

⁶⁷ See St. Athanasius, *The Life of St. Antony* (New York, NY: 1950), Vol. x of *Ancient Christian Writers*.

⁶⁸ John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development* (London: 1931), p. 197.

⁶⁹ *The Life of Pachomius*, trans. Apostolos Athanassakis (Missoula, MT: 1975), p. 31.

⁷⁰ Hebrews 12:4.

that is, many Hibernian monastics would undertake pilgrimages of several years, or even voluntary exile from their homeland for the rest of their lives, as an ascetic feat. It is surprising, however, that historians insist on the uniquely Celtic nature of this practice, when in the East it was an idea inherent in monasticism itself. The monastic life has always been regarded, in the best spiritual texts, as a life of total rejection of all worldly ties, family not excepted. This is quite clear in *The Life of Saint Anthony*, as it also is in that treatment of the monastic life *par excellence* by Saint John Climacos (ca. 579–ca. 649),⁷¹ *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, the third “rung” of which is “On Exile or Pilgrimage.”⁷² As well, we can find numerous other treatments of this same theme in Byzantine writings, references to the monastic “land of our renunciation” based on the Old Testament directive addressed to Saint Abraham the Patriarch (ca. 2096 B.C.–ca. 1921 B.C.):⁷³ “Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land that I will shew thee.”^{74, 75} One would have to have a very limited knowledge indeed of Eastern Orthodox monasticism in order to assert that this concept of “exile” was something unique to the Celts.

However, let us consider whether the contribution of the Celts to this idea was the refined notion of specific pilgrimages for ascetic purposes. Even here we have an Oriental precedent in Saint Gregory of Nyssa’s *On Pilgrimages*.⁷⁶ The question then

⁷¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on the Fourth Sunday of Great Lent (March 1–April 4) and March 30.

⁷² St. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (Boston, MA: 1979), pp. 14–19.

⁷³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on October 9, the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers (December 11–December 17), the Sunday before the Nativity of Christ (December 18–December 24), and August 21.

⁷⁴ Genesis 12:1; cf. Acts 7:3.

⁷⁵ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 155.

⁷⁶ [St.] Gregory of Nyssa, “On Pilgrimages,” in *Gregory of Nyssa: Dogmatic Treatises* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1979), 2nd Ser., Vol. v of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, pp. 382–383.

arises whether any of the writings of Saint Gregory of Nyssa were known in Hibernia. This does not seem unlikely, for in one of the two best-preserved Celtic liturgical texts of the sixth and seventh centuries, there are references in certain Litanies to various Saints. In addition to the Prophets and Apostles that one would expect to find mentioned, there are also some Byzantine monastic Fathers, including Saint Anthony the Great, Saint Paul of Thebes (ca. 229–342),⁷⁷ and Saint Gregory of Nyssa.⁷⁸ Finally, we might mention actual references to monastic pilgrimages found in Eastern Orthodox writings, such as the pilgrimage of Saint Serapion the Sindonite (fl. 4th cen.)⁷⁹ to various places, including Athens and Rome, or the pilgrimage of Saint John Moschos to Egypt, already mentioned as an example of the considerable influence of Egyptian monasticism even in the Orient itself.⁸⁰ The Celtic contribution, however, consists in the undeniably great influence that Hibernian “monastic missionaries” had on the Church in Western Europe during pilgrimages from the Celtic isles, starting in the early seventh century; Saint Gall of Lake Constance (ca. 546–645),⁸¹ Saint Livinus of Aalst († ca. 650),⁸² and Saint Fiacre of Meaux (600–670)⁸³ are typical examples of this.

Another major characteristic of Celtic monasticism, unique not in itself but rather in the stress laid upon it as an integral aspect of monastic life, was learning and study. It is a well-known fact that the early Celtic Church was an oasis of Christian thought and scholarship at the time of the West’s endemic subjugation to

⁷⁷ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 15.

⁷⁸ “The Stowe Missal,” in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: 1881), p. 240.

⁷⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 21 (Greek practice) or May 14 (Slavic practice).

⁸⁰ See [St.] John Moschos, *The Spiritual Meadow*, trans. John Wortley (Kalamazoo, MI: 1992).

⁸¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on October 16.

⁸² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on November 12.

⁸³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on August 18.

barbarian ignorance (the contemporary East, by contrast, being a fecund seedbed of intellectual achievements). We know of instances where Christians from the Continent sojourned in Hibernia in order to have the opportunity of studying there. Learning and study, as an integral part of monastic life (along with prayer and manual labor)—including transcribing and memorizing Scriptural passages—, were common to both East and West. In Cappadocia, we find them in the writings of Saint Basil; in Palestine, we find them in Saint Jerome; in Egypt, they are an essential element of the writings of Saint John Cassian and Evagrius. Even among what one might consider less intellectually inclined anchorites, the importance of a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, especially the Gospels and the Psalms, is obvious.⁸⁴ Saint Jerome refers to study and writing as monastic “disciplines” in the organized sense that this word has come to have for contemporary, and especially, Western monasticism.

When we look at a few specific instances, the agreement between Hibernia and the Orient is even more pronounced. That learning and study played an important part in Celtic monasticism is quite evident in the life of Saint Finnian of Clonard (*ca.* 470–549),^{85, 86} who was acclaimed as the “Teacher of the Saints of Ireland” for his prodigious instruction of thousands of spiritual aspirants. Many of his pupils labored in the famous *scriptoria*, painstakingly copying out ornate manuscripts. Saint Columba of Iona (*ca.* 521–597)⁸⁷ was one of these monastic scribes, and he is likewise noted for his intellectual talent.⁸⁸ An accomplished calligrapher, Saint Columba has left us his copy of Saint Finnian’s copy of Saint Jerome’s Psalter, a manuscript which came

⁸⁴ St. Athanasius, *The Life of St. Antony*, *op. cit.*, Vol. x of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 55.

⁸⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on December 12.

⁸⁶ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

⁸⁷ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 9.

⁸⁸ *Adomnan’s Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (Edinburgh & London: 1961), pp. 257, 259, 279.

to be known as *Cathach* ("Warrior") when Saints Finnian and Columba clashed over its ownership. In the life of Saint Brendan of Clonfert (*ca.* 485–578),⁸⁹ we see specifically the idea of memorizing the entire Psalter,⁹⁰ which idea derives from the East, both from Egypt and Palestine, where this was common practice. Indeed, it was later embodied in the canonical literature of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Moreover, the knowledge of certain Greek Fathers and ascetic writers in Hibernian monasteries is clear from various sources. Unfortunately, no exhaustive list has ever been compiled and, because of the scarcity of Celtic writings from this early period, such a list can never be complete.

The question of whether Celtic monastics could read Greek we will address later. But just by looking at the Latin translations of certain Eastern ecclesiastical writers, a list of sorts can be constructed. Saint Brendan was familiar with at least Origen (*ca.* 185–*ca.* 254), Saint Jerome, and Saint Anthony; Saint Cuimmíne Fota ("the Tall") († *ca.* 665)⁹¹ knew of Saint Pachomios, as well as the life of the Egyptian hermit Saint Paul the Simple († *ca.* 340),⁹² a contemporary of Saint Anthony.⁹³ *The Life of Saint Anthony* by Saint Athanasios the Great (296–373)⁹⁴ was, of course, generally known throughout the West. Saint Aileran of Clonard (†664)⁹⁵ knew the writings of Origen, Saint Jerome, Saint Cassian, and Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430).^{96, 97} Of these, Origen, Saint Cassian, Saint Pachomios, Saint Anthony, and Saint Paul of Thebes, to name only those who are known for certain, are all

⁸⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on May 16.

⁹⁰ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 46.

⁹¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on November 12.

⁹² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on October 4.

⁹³ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 66.

⁹⁴ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 18 and the Translation of his Relics on May 2.

⁹⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on December 29.

⁹⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 15.

⁹⁷ George Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church* (London: 1886), p. 220.

Egyptians or students of the Coptic school of monasticism. At this point, then, we can make a logical deduction. We have seen how Celtic monasteries were genuine centers of learning and scholarship. Furthermore, the influence of a considerable amount of Oriental, and especially Coptic, monastic and spiritual literature is evident, so that even if the Greek language were unknown in Hibernia, nonetheless there was already enough of this literature available in Latin to have a noticeable effect on Hibernian monasticism.

Finally, history teaches us that monastic influence can be exerted by monastic literature alone, if there are a few learned and spiritually blessed monks to interpret that literature to a group of monastic communities. One may cite the very strong Egyptian influences on the development of monasticism in Northern Russia under such noteworthy figures as Saint Sergios of Radonezh (1314-1392),⁹⁸ Saint Cyril of Belozersk (1339-1429),⁹⁹ and Saint Alexander of Svir (1449-1533),¹⁰⁰ so much so that, as we have already noted, this area of Russia became known as the Northern Thebaid.¹⁰¹ Numerous instances of actual travel by monastics from one part of the world to another—in our case, from Egypt to Hibernia, or *vice versa*—are not necessary. In Hibernia, a thorough knowledge of some of the writings of the Eastern monastics, as well as the lives of the Desert Fathers of Egypt, would have been sufficient to leave a profound mark on monastic life, even to the point of actually shaping the course and nature of that life. And we do, moreover, have at least a few definite instances where some travel between Hibernia and Egypt did, in fact, take place. The combination of these two factors could quite possibly be the key to understanding the rise of monasticism in Hibernia.

⁹⁸ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on September 25 and the Translation of his Relics on July 5.

⁹⁹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 9.

¹⁰⁰ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on August 30.

¹⁰¹ See Ivan Kologrivov, *Очерки по Истории Русской Святости* (Brussels: 1961).

Another area of "emphasis" in Celtic monasticism deserves our attention. Anchoritism had its origin in the Egyptian deserts. Yet, it occupied a central place in Celtic ecclesiastical life, and this more pointedly than anywhere else in Western Europe at this time.¹⁰² It would appear that by the sixth century, the anchoritic life was not thriving in Gaul or elsewhere in Continental Europe. Only in Hibernia was this a truly developed and integral aspect of monastic life; thus, the roots of this phenomenon, directly or indirectly, must be traced back either to Egypt or to Palestine.

Just as in the writings of Saint Cassian and Saint Pachomios, as well as in *The Life of Saint Anthony*, we also find in Celtic lands the notion that the eremitic life is the higher form of monasticism, the form to be emulated by all monastics in the *cœnobia*. As for the semi-eremitic life, which we have traced back to its origins in Palestine, it is difficult, if not impossible, to find indications of this in Celtic writings. There appear to be no references to knowledge of this life in them. Rather, besides the life of the *cœnobia* and its various "rules" and disciplines, the only other tendency we find in Hibernia is that of individual monastics either going off on their own into the wilderness or searching out small and desolate islands off the coast of Hibernia. An example of this can be seen in *The Life of Saint Columba*. Chadwick feels that it was directly under the influence of Eastern writings of the Desert Fathers who had gone alone into the desert to seek Christian perfection after living for years in *cœnobia* that Saint Columba established a remote monastic settlement for himself on Iona, an island off the coast of modern-day Scotland.¹⁰³ This was in the sixth century; by the end of the century, and in the one to follow as well, numerous such settlements could be found throughout Celtic lands. Suffice it to say that no deserts *per se* existed in Hi-

¹⁰² See John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*

¹⁰³ Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

bernia, and adaptation was necessary. But lest one think that it was not the Desert Fathers whose influence can be seen here, the general name adopted for such settlements by the Celtic monastics is most illuminating: they referred to such a monastic settlement as a *dísert* in their native language.¹⁰⁴

We have so far dealt primarily with patterns or major aspects of monastic life; but in order to determine more exactly the relationship between Oriental and Celtic monasticism, we will now have to explore in greater detail the circumstances and rules guiding daily monastic life in Hibernia. To do this, we shall examine various "rules," writings, and lives of Celtic monastics, especially as they relate to the East. We will point out several significant (and not coincidental) instances which clearly suggest a similarity between one set of monastic writings and the other and demonstrate how certain common patterns emerge.

Among the various extant lives of Saints, *The Life of Saint Columba* by Saint Adamnan of Iona (ca. 625–704)¹⁰⁵ provides the most complete and detailed picture of Celtic monastic life in the sixth century. Saint Columba, or Columcille (as he is known in Irish), was born around 521 and died in 597. He was raised in what is now Ireland proper, evidently learned his monasticism there (probably at Bangor), and later traveled and founded the great monastic center of Iona.¹⁰⁶ In this he represents a bond between the two Celtic lands of antiquity, Hibernia or Scottia (modern Ireland) and Pictland (modern Scotland). Saint Columba has left us two very important documents on monastic life, both of which will be dealt with shortly: a monastic rule in Latin, *The Rule of Saint Columba*, and *Regula Cœnobialis*, a combination of penitential and monastic disciplinary canons.

¹⁰⁴ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on September 23.

¹⁰⁶ Donald Attwater, *Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Baltimore, MD: 1965), p. 91 ff.

There exist in *The Life of Saint Columba* some details which correspond quite closely to *The Life of Saint Anthony*. Both monks were given similar gifts of "prophecy" because of the holiness of their lives;¹⁰⁷ both were known at least once to have observed departed souls either ascending to Heaven accompanied by Angels or descending to the nether regions accompanied by demons;¹⁰⁸ and both were given the gift of spiritual discernment, a "discerning spirit" (also found in Saint John Cassian).¹⁰⁹ Despite their obvious holiness and the miracles or healings wrought through their prayers, both authors of these Saints' respective lives, Saint Adamnan of Iona and Saint Athanasios of Alexandria, very strongly stress that it is "through the Grace of God" that such miracles and prophecies occur, the Grace of God working through man.¹¹⁰ This is a common presupposition throughout Eastern Orthodox spiritual literature, of course, and both of these writings present it in a similar manner. Also, Saint Columba's aversion to "secular music" as unbecoming a monastic who has renounced everything finds a parallel in the writings of the Egyptian desert.¹¹¹

The Rule of Saint Columba, as it comes down to us, was probably written a generation after the Saint by one of his disciples. We have no reason to believe, however, that it is not a faithful reproduction of the monastic ideals of his time. At any rate, it is among the earliest of the Celtic monastic writings that have sur-

¹⁰⁷ St. Athanasius, *The Life of St. Antony*, *op. cit.*, Vol. x of *Ancient Christian Writers*, pp. 59, 62; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, I.2, I.9.

¹⁰⁸ St. Athanasius, *The Life of St. Antony*, *op. cit.*, Vol. x of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 60; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, I.1.

¹⁰⁹ St. Athanasius, *The Life of St. Antony*, *op. cit.*, Vol. x of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 88.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, I.37, II.4.

¹¹¹ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

vived, and it is as good as any other authority for a detailed look at Celtic monasticism in the earliest period. In at least one respect, then, such a "rule" is similar to *The Rule of Saint Pachomios*. The latter was also written a generation or two after the great Saint himself, by a disciple within the Pachomian system. Because of the conservative nature of monastic life, then, as well as the overt need within monasticism for stable systems, in both cases we can use these "rules" as examples of the earliest monasticism in their respective geographic areas.

Certain features of monastic life are consistently universal, regardless of the period of history one intends to explore. Therefore, basic features of daily monastic life—long hours of prayer, fasting, manual labor, study, "obediences," hospitality to travelers and visitors—need not detain us. But even when one goes into more detail in studying Celtic writings, there is such a remarkable consistency in their similarities to those of the East¹¹² that we are most likely dealing with a common original source for these writings. *The Rule of Saint Columba* certainly contains the aforementioned universal themes of monastic life; but in addition, there are several specifics suggestive of the Orthodox East. Both in this rule and that of Saint Pachomios one can find emphasis on no distinction regarding "private property" among monastics; instead, monks and nuns are to share all material possessions of the monastery, in keeping with their life of poverty.¹¹³ In Saint Columba's stress on the poor quality of the clothing that monastics are to wear, the silence that they are to maintain except when absolutely necessary, and the importance within the daily cycle of prayer of intercessions for the departed, we again encounter themes found in both Saints Pachomios and Cassian. The threefold division of the monastic's day between prayer,

¹¹² John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, op. cit., p. 404; John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches*, op. cit., p. 81.

¹¹³ St. Pachomius the Great, "The Rule of St. Pachomius," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 25.

work, and study of Scripture; the emphasis on love of God and selfless love of one's fellow man as the basis of monastic life; and the encouragement of prayer fervent enough to be accompanied by tears—these are further themes in Byzantine monasticism.¹¹⁴ The manner in which these ideas are set forth in Celtic spiritual writings suggests familiarity with Coptic literature especially.

One of the most influential Celtic monastic figures of this time was Saint Columbanus of Luxeuil (*ca.* 543–615),¹¹⁵ who, after receiving his monastic training in Bangor, toward the end of his life was influential in spreading Celtic monastic principles to Continental Europe, including Gaul.¹¹⁶ Let us consider his monastic writings. *Regula Monachorum*, or *The Rule of Saint Columbanus*, is strongly Egyptian in character. Obvious themes found either in Saint Pachomios or Saint Cassian, or occasionally in *The Apophthegmata of the [Desert] Fathers*, include the following: obedience as the foundation of the cœnobitic life, stress on silence, and food intake limited to either the Ninth Hour (3:00 *p.m.*) or the evening (the former in Saint Cassian, the latter from other Coptic writings).¹¹⁷ The idea that a “monk’s chastity is measured by his thoughts” is straight from Saint Cassian, as is the entire “Rule Nine” on “mortification.”¹¹⁸ “Rule Seven,” which deals with the Divine Services and liturgics, also shows certain Coptic characteristics, discussed more fully in a later chapter of our study. Finally, “Rule Eight,” on the importance of “discretion,” is also a particularly Coptic theme, found in both Saints Anthony and John Cassian.

Another work of Saint Columbanus, his *Regula Cœnobialis*, warrants our attention as well. Some of the ideals it expounds have

¹¹⁴ Thomas O. Fiaich, *Columbanus in His Own Words* (Dublin: 1974), p. 74.

¹¹⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on November 21.

¹¹⁶ Donald Attwater, *Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93.

¹¹⁷ ΒΕΛΗΚΉΨΗ ΠΑΧΟΜΙΟΥΣ (Jordanville, NY: 1964), pp. 462–463.

¹¹⁸ [St.] John Cassian, “Conferences,” in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.24.

already been mentioned: silence (but, here, explicitly appointed for meals, which we also find in Saint Pachomios¹¹⁹), possessionlessness ("if anyone call anything his own," he is to be penanced), and obedience. Saint Columbanus maintains the importance of Confession in the life of the monastic, too, specifically before the Divine Liturgy. His insistence on the confession not only of sins by word or by deed, but of thoughts as well, also finds precedents in Egyptian writings.¹²⁰ Thus, in both Hibernia and the East, Confession has an ascetic aspect, helping the monastic to root sinful passions out of his soul. The concept of "penance" in the life of the monastery is noteworthy as well. Disciplinary penances, in order to insure orderly and proper monastic life (especially in larger communities), are to be found in both East and West. Discipline is a necessary part of any monastic community, but particularly so where the virtue of obedience is stressed. Thus, a penance is prescribed in *The Rule of Saint Columbanus* for one who coughs during, or hesitates at, the beginning of his reading (of Psalms, for example) in the communal services, and as well for those who are tardy at such services.¹²¹ The former may seem a rather unusual disciplinary measure, designed perhaps to encourage reverence and the fear of God during the Divine Services; yet one also finds it in the writings of Saint John Cassian.¹²² In the same vein, laughter at Divine Services is also strictly forbidden in both Egypt and Hibernia.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *Idem*, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, IV.17.

¹²⁰ [St.] Columbanus, "Regula Cœnobialis," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer (Columbia, NY: 1938), I.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, IV.

¹²² [St.] John Cassian, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, IV.16; St. Pachomius the Great, "The Rule of St. Pachomius," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, *op. cit.*, VIII.

¹²³ [St.] Columbanus, "Regula Cœnobialis," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, IV.

Similar monastic regulations common to Egyptian and Hibernian writings include the following: a prohibition on leaving the monastery grounds without permission; a prohibition on visiting other monastics in their cells without permission; the forbiddance of kneeling on Sunday, the Day of the Resurrection, or during Paschaltide, the season following the annual Feast of the Resurrection (Pascha), on account of the overriding spiritual joy connected with Christ's Arising; and an emphasis on silence, this time for novices in particular.¹²⁴ All of these are to be found in Saint Pachomios the Great and Saint John Cassian.

A third document of Saint Columbanus, his *Penitential*, repeats much of what has been stated previously. However, here, as well, some Egyptian themes are added. Saint Columbanus stresses that vices or sins are to be confronted in ascetic struggle or corrected by their "opposites": gluttony is amended by fasting, words of anger by silence, pride by penances which impose some degree of humiliation on the monastic in question, laziness by extra manual work assignments, *etc.*¹²⁵ These principles are taken directly from Saint John Cassian.¹²⁶ Saint Columbanus also assigns elder monastics to act as "stewards" who are responsible for the material needs of the monastery, as well as giving sermons on appropriate occasions; this is found in *The Rule of Saint Pachomios*.¹²⁷ Ascetic restrictions on bathing, which can be found in *The Life of Saint Anthony*, are also found here.¹²⁸

Those Celtic writings dealing more with the internal spiritual life, as opposed to external material concerns, also resemble

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, II.

¹²⁵ *Idem*, "Penitential," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, XII.

¹²⁶ *Idem*, "Regula Cœnobialis," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, I.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII; *The Life of Pachomius*, trans. Apostolos Athanassakis, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 39.

¹²⁸ [St.] Columbanus, "Regula Cœnobialis," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, xxvii.

Coptic sources. Saint Columbanus writes concerning the “dispositions of the [spiritual] heart,” a subject that deals with the aforementioned struggles with passions and sinful thoughts, as well as the acquisition of humility;¹²⁹ Saint Adomnan, the biographer of Saint Columba, writes about the monastic’s struggles with “vain-glory”;¹³⁰ and elsewhere in Saint Columbanus “melancholy,” or “accidie,” is explained.¹³¹ All of these are subjects treated in depth in the writings of Saint Cassian. Furthermore, Saint Cuimíne Fota devotes an entire treatise to the eight major passions: anger, lust, gluttony, despondency, listlessness (accidie), vainglory, jealousy, and pride—again, exactly as found in the writings of Saint John Cassian (who, however, probably learned of these things from another Egyptian monk, Evagrius).¹³² Finally, we might mention Saint Columba of Iona’s emphasis on the monastic’s great need for διακρίσις or “spiritual discernment”; this is paralleled earlier in Saints Anthony and Cassian, who both advocate διακρίσις as a basis for monastic spirituality.¹³³ Other monastic themes—poverty, the period of the novitiate, Vice-Abbotcies of larger monasteries, monastic vows—these are fairly universal and,

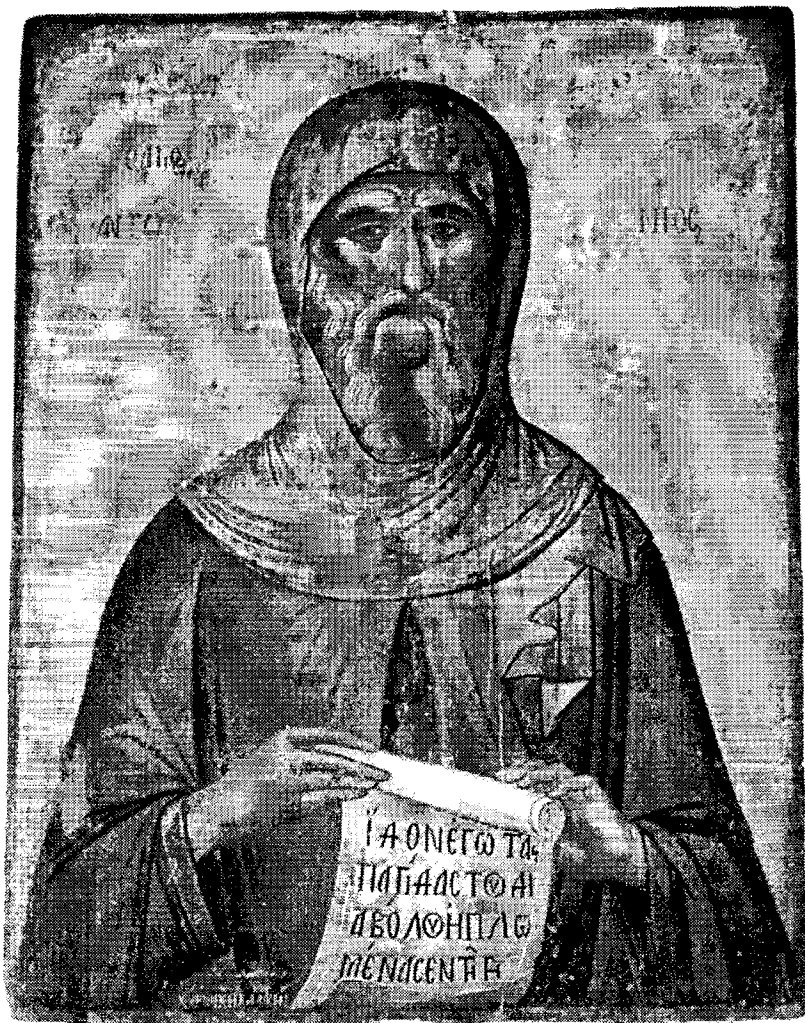
¹²⁹ Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, trans. Mary P. Ryan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*, p. 42.

¹³⁰ *Adomnan’s Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, 1.50.

¹³¹ [St.] John Cassian, “Institutes,” in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, IV.16; [St.] Columbanus, “Regula Cœnobialis,” in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, VIII.

¹³² [St.] John Cassian, “Institutes,” in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, v; [St.] Cumminian, “Penitential,” in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*

¹³³ *Adomnan’s Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, 1.50; [St.] John Cassian, “Conferences,” in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 1.



Saint Anthony the Great

although some of the details found in Celtic sources coincide with Coptic writings, they may be found elsewhere as well. For example, a three-year novitiate was standard not only in Hibernia and Egypt, but in Cappadocia as well.

More interesting, and often striking, are the similarities found in the life-stories of monastics in both Egypt and Hibernia. Several of these instances have been considered uniquely Celtic, but such an idea can only be accounted for by a lack of familiarity with Byzantine monastic literature among Celticists. However, this fact is significant for our purposes. If we assume that such writers are referring to peculiarities of Celtic monasticism *vis-à-vis* the rest of Western Europe, then there is a very good chance, indeed, that these Egyptian and other Oriental influences which have been pointed out are of a direct nature. This would mean either mutual travel exchanges between Hibernian and Egyptian monastics or the existence in Hibernia of a significant number of Eastern monastic writings which otherwise could not be found in Western Europe at that time. The list of what we may call "unusual circumstances of monastic life" common to Egypt and Hibernia—we do not find such instances anywhere else in monastic literature—is no doubt one of the most convincing arguments for direct Coptic influence on Celtic monastics. One such instance is the ascetic practice of praying all night long with arms outstretched in the form of a Cross.¹³⁴ We find this gruelling exercise, for example, in the life of Saint Kieran of Clonmacnoise (*ca.* 516–*ca.* 549),¹³⁵ and there are several other references to it in Celtic literature (such as *The Life of Saint Columba*), but even earlier, it is to be found in *The Life of Saint Pachomios*.¹³⁶ Another ascetic practice which we might cite is that

¹³⁴ Called the "Cross-gill" (*cross figell*, from *crux vigilia*, i.e., "Cross vigil") position in Hibernia (Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 102).

¹³⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on September 9.

¹³⁶ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 102; *The Life of Pachomius*, trans. Apostolos Athanassakis, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

of keeping an all-night vigil of prayer while standing in frigid water in order to mortify the body and, hence, overcome the passions. This was a custom popular with Celtic ascetics. Practitioners of this arduous discipline include Saint Columba of Iona, Saint Kevin of Glendalough (†618),¹³⁷ and Saint Angus of Talaght († *ca.* 824).¹³⁸ Again, such ascetic techniques, found more than once in Celtic literature, can be traced back to Egypt and Evagrios the Solitary.¹³⁹

Saint Adamnan recounts a story about Saint Columba concerning how, in a time of scarcity of food, the Holy Abbot turned the taste of an herb which is naturally bitter into something sweet. This finds earlier parallels in the lives of the Desert Fathers.¹⁴⁰ Also, some of the healings which we find in the lives of these Celtic monks are similar to those in the desert, such as a boy being brought back to life through the prayers of the holy Egyptian monk, Saint Macarios the Great, a miracle echoed in the lives of Saint Brendan of Clonfert and Saint Máedóc¹⁴¹ of Ferns (†626).^{142, 143} This is all the more significant for us, since the account of Saint Macarios is mentioned in, besides *The Apophthegmata of the Fathers*, the writings of Saint Cassian. (By now it will have become evident to the reader that this Saint's

¹³⁷ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on June 3.

¹³⁸ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 11.

¹³⁹ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–96.

¹⁴⁰ *Adamnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, 11.2; see also Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, *op. cit.*

¹⁴¹ "Máedóc" is a hypocoristic name, consisting of the endearing prefix *mo-* ("my"), the anthroponym *Aed* (Latinized to *Aidus*), and the diminutive suffix *-oc* ("young").

¹⁴² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 31.

¹⁴³ Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 11, pp. 48, 179, 181; [St.] John Cassian, "Conferences," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 11.15.

works were the most influential Eastern writings in Hibernia). In both Egypt and Hibernia, we have the occurrence of the hand of a would-be assailant of a monk being miraculously stricken or "withered."¹⁴⁴ In the realm of the spiritual, two instances from the lives of Coptic monks are mirrored in Celtic literature. Firstly, we find the monastic rules of his future monastery being dictated to Saint Pachomios the Great by an Angel; the same thing is recorded in the life of the Hibernian monk Saint Brendan of Clonfert.¹⁴⁵ Secondly, there is an instance where Saint Anthony the Great is ferried by Angels across a river that he is unable to cross; Saint Máedóc of Ferns once experienced identical assistance from the Bodiless Powers.¹⁴⁶

Mention must further be made of a certain type of Egyptian anchorites, the βοσκοί or "grazers"—a reference to the fact that these monks lived a life of total solitude and lived entirely off the land. They unmistakably resemble the Celtic *geilt*, whose mode of life almost exactly parallels that of the Coptic βοσκοί.¹⁴⁷ Finally, one may speak of the similar concern, especially to be noted among the older and more advanced monastics, with animals and the things of nature. In both Hibernia and the East (for we find such instances not only in Egypt, but in the writings of such Palestinian monks as Saint Jerome as well), this concern extends from the largest to the smallest of animals and even to plants.

At this point, we might ask: Are there major differences, if any, in the monastic life of Hibernia and the East, and particularly Egypt? Let us consider, in turn, three possible differences. The first one is the issue of monastic Tonsure. Celtic monks, it

¹⁴⁴ Palladius, *The Lausaic History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer (New York, NY: 1964), Vol. xxxiv of *Ancient Christian Writers*, p. 50; *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *op. cit.*, 1.36.

¹⁴⁵ ΒΕΛΗΚΤΗΨ ΧΑΤΟΛΟΓΩΣ, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-463; Charles Plummer, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

¹⁴⁷ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 109; Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 105 ff.

seems, were Tonsured somewhat differently from those in the rest of Western Europe. However, it is difficult to compare this with the East. In the East, the custom of monastic Tonsure developed slowly; originally, in the fourth century, it involved the complete shaving of the monk's head. However, by the sixth or seventh centuries, this practice had been modified into a partial shaving or simple cutting of hair.¹⁴⁸ There are no explicit references to the exact nature of such a Tonsure in any of the Oriental literature with which we have so far dealt. Hence, it is a reasonable conclusion that Celtic monastics, having only read of the Tonsure itself (without explicit reference to the nature of such Tonsuring), adapted some sort of local or native custom to this practice. Such a native adaptation is at least the opinion of one author who has studied this problem.¹⁴⁹

A second issue concerns the corporal punishment of monastics. At first glance, this, too, seems to be a Celtic innovation—one does not come across it in the best of Eastern monastic literature (Saints Cassian, Pachomios, Anthony, or even Saints Jerome and Basil). However, there are passing references in *The Lausaic History* to the existence of corporal punishment in at least one group of Egyptian monasteries,¹⁵⁰ and thus it was not totally unknown in the Orient. It is, therefore, difficult to account for its more frequent occurrence in Celtic monastic writings.

The third issue is that of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In Hibernia, unlike the East at this time, monasteries acquired enormous ecclesiastical (institutional, not charismatic) influence. This we may attribute in part to the peculiarities of Hibernian society, where the social structure facilitated this situation.¹⁵¹ We may also

¹⁴⁸ N. F. Robinson, *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches* (Milwaukee, WI: 1916), p. 33 ff.

¹⁴⁹ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 201 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Palladius, *The Lausaic History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXIV of *Ancient Christian Writers*, VII.3; John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

¹⁵¹ John T. McNeill, *The Celtic Churches*, *op. cit.*, p. 99 ff.

attribute it to the higher incidence of monastic Bishops in Celtic lands, relatively speaking, than in Egypt (only later did this become widespread, and, indeed, the norm in Egypt). But whether this was a fundamental difference or merely one of degree is perhaps an open-ended question.

CHAPTER 5

TRAVEL AND LANGUAGE

It would be expedient for our purposes if we could establish the exact extent of travel between the Orient and the Celtic lands in this period of time; unfortunately, this is not possible. References are very sketchy, and although we can point out some interesting instances of such travel, we can in no way establish that this was a common occurrence. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, there are at least two clear-cut references to Eastern monks in Hibernia: one is to "seven monks of Egypt buried in Désert Uí Laig," while the other is to traveling Armenian monks who visited Hibernia.¹⁵² We know also of references to pilgrimages of Christians from Britain and Hibernia to the Holy Land and Syria¹⁵³ (paralleled in *The Lausaic History*, which deals primarily with Egyptian, but also with Syrian monasticism); we know further of the existence in Hibernia of manuscript "travel guides" to both the Holy Land and Egypt¹⁵⁴—how they reached Hibernia, and whether or not they were ever used, is another question. The possibility of Gaul as an intermediary of sorts we will explore subsequently. There is, finally, an indirect reference to at least one Celtic pilgrim who apparently traveled to Egypt;¹⁵⁵ he is said to have returned with considerably detailed knowledge of monastic life in Egypt.

Again, historically we know that it takes no more than a knowledge of a particular body of monastic literature, and perhaps only a handful of monks, to effect a remarkable influence on the monastic life of another land. Indeed, there is even one in-

¹⁵² Charles Plummer, *Irish Litanies*, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 62; Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁵³ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. A. W. Hadden and William Stubbs (London: 1873), Vol. II, p. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Aziz S. Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity*, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ff.

¹⁵⁵ George Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 215, 221.

stance—that of Saint Martin of Tours (*ca.* 316–397)¹⁵⁶ in fourth-century Gaul—of a single monk accomplishing such a feat. However, it must be said in this context that monasticism in Gaul was not as widespread as it was in Hibernia; the circumstances of the remarkable growth of Celtic monasticism would probably have required more than the efforts of one monk in order to transmit such influence. But the basic premise—*viz.*, that only a very few such monastics are necessary—remains intact.

The language issue, as it is usually phrased, turns on the question of the knowledge of Greek, or the lack thereof, in Hibernia. Often it is one of the questions upon which the presence or absence of Eastern influence is supposed to depend; yet, such is not a sensible presupposition. We have already clearly demonstrated Eastern influence in many aspects of monastic life in Hibernia, regardless of the Greek language. However, a sufficient number of Oriental monastic sources, by the fifth and sixth centuries, existed in Latin translation, rendering this question irrelevant. We have already noted the considerable impact of the writings of Saint John Cassian and Saint Pachomios the Great, as well as *The Life of Saint Anthony*; these writings, all of which were reflective of the monastic ideals of Egypt, had been translated into Latin by this time. In addition, the lives of various Coptic and Syro-Palestinian Desert Fathers, as well as many of their *Apophthegmata*, were also available in Latin. We know, further, of the existence in Hibernia of some Latin translations of the writings of Origen, whose influence on Egyptian monasticism was not insignificant, and of Saint Jerome, who, as we have seen, wrote on the monasticism of both Egypt and Palestine. Finally, Rufinus of Aquileia's (*ca.* 345–*ca.* 411) *The History of the Monks* (dealing primarily with Egyptian monasticism) was also extant in Latin.

¹⁵⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on October 12 (Slavic practice) or November 12 (Greek practice) and the Translation of his Relics on July 4.

Even so, let us allow for a moment that the knowledge of Greek was somehow vital to the spread of Byzantine monasticism in Hibernia. It has been established that Greek was at least somewhat known in the Celtic monastery at Bangor, and that Saint Columbanus himself had a working knowledge of Greek (and even Hebrew).¹⁵⁷ Why, then, is it not possible that one or several Hibernian monks familiar with Greek translated selected monastic works into Latin? Instead, it would seem that some historians would want to see evidence of all Celtic monasteries from this period being fluent in Greek, before they would admit to such Eastern influences. Again, this is really beside the point. Oriental, and particularly Coptic, influence can be observed in any detailed investigation of the respective monastic lives in Hibernia and in Egypt.

Finally, and because it is indirectly related to the issue of language, we should note the existence of certain Byzantine terms in Celtic literature. The word *disert*, a variation of “desert,” has already been mentioned in reference to Hibernian monastic sanctuaries of an especially out-of-the-way nature; *i.e.*, those conducive to stricter and more solitary monasticism.¹⁵⁸ Saint Columbanus, for instance, retired to a *disert*—*viz.*, an uninhabited island—in order to practice a more advanced and ascetic form of monastic life.¹⁵⁹ This is comparable to the phenomenon of the Northern Thebaïd, where Russian monastics imitated the stricter Egyptian monastic system; tellingly, a single word—пустыня—does double duty for both “desert” and “wilderness” in the Russian tongue. We might note, further, the existence of other Greek ecclesiastical terms used in Hibernia: the use of *Synaxis* for communal Church Services derives from the East, as

¹⁵⁷ Heinrich Zimmer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, *op. cit.*, p. 67; W. D. Killen, *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* (1875), p. 49.

¹⁵⁸ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁵⁹ W. D. Killen, *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

does the use of the term *Archimandrite* to denote a leader of a monastic community.¹⁶⁰

At this point, an overview of the general state of monasticism in Western Europe would be helpful. Besides the Celtic lands, we may cite the existence of some degree of thriving monasticism in the following places on the Continent: Italy, Spain, and, of course, Gaul.¹⁶¹ So little is known concerning Spanish monasticism that nothing illuminating can be said in this context. Gaul deserves our special attention and will be treated in some detail in the concluding chapter. Finally, we may very briefly look at the state of monastic life in Italy during the sixth century. It is at this time that Saint Benedict of Nursia began his influential work. However, the monasticism portrayed in his writings manifests much dependence on Saint Basil the Great and is accordingly overtly coenobitic.¹⁶² We have already seen that such a monastic system is very unlikely to have exerted influence on the more ascetically austere monasticism found in Hibernia. Furthermore, before Saint Benedict, there are simply no major monastic figures to whom we can refer in Italy; hence, the accounts which we find by certain modern Roman Catholic historians, suggesting the existence, already before Saint Benedict, of considerable Italian monasticism,¹⁶³ are, quite frankly, difficult to believe. There appears to be little concrete historical evidence to confirm this biased Papist view.

¹⁶⁰ John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, p. 335; Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ff.

¹⁶¹ See John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*

¹⁶² Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, trans. Mary P. Ryan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*, p. 512 ff.

¹⁶³ See, e.g., Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (London: 1924).

CHAPTER 6

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Most of our discussion on this subject will not directly address iconography, Christian art *par excellence*, but rather such artistic forms as manuscript illumination (which, of course, were often inspired by certain traditional, prototypical iconographic formats, especially the Festal and allegorical compositions). Illuminations are particularly helpful for us, for they were a distinctly monastic occupation, and hence they belong more properly to the category of monasticism than that of general ecclesiastical life. The best known of these various forms of Celtic Christian art are the illuminations exemplified by the seventh-century *Lindisfarne Gospels* from Celtic Scotland. Several detailed studies have been done on these illuminations, some even going so far as to employ a chemical analysis of the various elements used in the work. From these studies, several interesting facts emerged, none of which were surprising for art historians, who have long commented on the obvious Eastern influences in the artistic heritage of Hibernia. Firstly, chemical analysis has determined that one of the substances used for the azure blue pigmentation, which is found in several other Celtic manuscripts, was lapis lazuli, a semiprecious element that could only have been imported from Asia, or at least the Near East. Likewise, the yellow pigmentation derives from orpiment (arsenic trisulfide), a substance which also must have been procured from Asian parts (exactly where is unknown).¹⁶⁴ The obvious implication, here, is that there must have been some degree of travel between the Orient and Hibernia.

As for the figurative style found in such manuscripts, the portrayal of the human body in particular brings to mind the Eastern monastic "school"—what one would, at first glance, characterize as "unrealistic." Several things need to be stated in

¹⁶⁴ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

order to clarify this form of art, widely misunderstood and misinterpreted. It would be more accurate to describe the monastic art found in Hibernia, Egypt, and other places in the East, as "naïve" (a term typically used in reference to pure folk motifs, as well as art of the "antique" period of civilization), "primitive" or "primitive vigor" (not a pejorative term, but rather one which refers to a certain type of artistic form), or "non-classical," "non-academic." Most illuminators were monastics first and foremost—not academically trained artists—and their artistic techniques did not intrude on what they wished to communicate visually. As monastics, they were primarily concerned with noetic, rather than "natural," realities or meanings, *i.e.*, the conveyance of spiritual concepts. For example, limbs and facial features were often deliberately portrayed as elongated and thin, at the expense of realism, in order to express a departure from "sensual" human qualities in favor of an emphasis on spiritual insight or wisdom.

Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that monastics generally were not trained, and certainly not influenced, by artistic or academic trends in the world at large. The uniformity achieved in their work was the direct outcome of a strict adherence to tradition; hence, their monastic milieu placed such ecclesiastical art in a class by itself. This is a significant fact, for the influence displayed in the monastic art of Celtic lands could only, then, have come from Eastern Orthodox monastic sources. Although of Oriental origin, such monastic artistic concepts are very characteristic of the entire Celtic "school." Several specialists in this "school" have further posited that the Eastern influence is, in fact, specifically Egyptian.¹⁶⁵ We may note some of the following similarities between Coptic and Celtic art: the aforementioned elongation of human figures (recognizably Coptic, for there is a wide variety of forms within Eastern Orthodox Christian art as a whole); the use of *bas-relief*, especially in the intricate and geometric designs and ornamentation found in most Celtic

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 374–375.

manuscripts; the use of motifs from nature, such as birds; and the appearance of a favorite Coptic symbol of the Church, a Cross serving as the mast of a ship.¹⁶⁶

Moreover, it should be noted that we find several figures in Celtic art that appear to be almost exact replicas (or attempts at duplication) of Egyptian Christian art. A brief survey of Klaus Wesel's (1916-1987) excellent *Coptic Art* confirms this. The figures on pages 70, 105, 106, 137, and 138, for instance, can all be found in very similar fashion in various Celtic sources. Page 110 gives a good example of the Coptic geometric ornamentation found in so many Celtic manuscripts (e.g., the *Lindisfarne Gospels*). "Cross" influences can be found on pages 23 and 110. Finally, we see a strikingly similar use of a bird motif on page 109. Again, besides Egypt, the various ornamentations of Celtic manuscripts do find parallels in several other places in the East, such as Syria and Ethiopia. The illustrations in the *Book of Kells*, for example, resemble either Egyptian or Syrian art.¹⁶⁷ However, the leading scholar of Celtic art, Françoise Henry, maintains that there is a special Coptic influence. He notes that in Celtic manuscripts, the "use of dots has often been studied. It is of Coptic origin and is found in paintings of the monasteries in the Egyptian desert."¹⁶⁸ In addition, Henry cites specific Coptic influence in the "bindings" and "carved panels" seen on ancient Egyptian slabs. In this context, he cites an interesting line from *The Antiphonary [Rule] of Bangor*:

...House full of delight
Built on the rock
And indeed the true vine
Transplanted from Egypt....¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁶⁷ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁶⁸ Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* (London: 1940), p. 64.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

These are just some of the influences—Henry cites other examples, such as interlacing Celtic broaches, various Crosses, *etc.*—which are also of possible Egyptian origin. Other scholars have noted yet other examples of such Coptic influence. We have already made passing reference to the use of certain animal motifs. Celtic manuscripts show similarities to the Egyptian use of birds, eagles, lions, and calves (as found, for example, in Egyptian frescoes); further similarities may be seen in the “swathed mummy-like figures of Christ.”¹⁷⁰ There are also several instances of Hibernian drawings containing scenes from the lives of the Egyptian anchorites Saint Anthony the Great and Saint Paul of Thebes, placed alongside Biblical scenes.¹⁷¹ In the Celtic *Book of Durrow*, one can find not only a utilization of the colors green, yellow, and red, similar to Egyptian usage, but also “gems with a double cross outline against tightly knotted interlacings,” which recall the “beginnings of Coptic books.”¹⁷² There is at least one instance of the leather satchel of an Irish missal and the leather satchel of an Ethiopian manuscript of about the same period which “resemble each other so closely that they might be thought to have come from the same workshop.”¹⁷³ Finally, some Coptic and Syrian influences in Celtic sculpture have also been noted.¹⁷⁴

Very little Celtic iconography is extant; however, such as there is again displays overt Coptic influence, if not origin. It is possible to pinpoint Oriental influences, here, that may have exerted themselves in Hibernia, because, while retaining basic characteristics of Oriental iconography, Coptic examples “exhibit a generous

¹⁷⁰ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

¹⁷² Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period*, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

¹⁷³ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁷⁴ Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

degree of innovation, some elements of which later appeared (in Scotland).... Definite Coptic influence is visible in Celtic and Anglo-Saxon examples.”¹⁷⁵ An “eighth-century illumination of an Irish book, the *Gospel* 51, seems to be Coptic in its formalized style.... The illumination in the *Donation* of [Saint] King Edgar [the Peaceable (*ca.* 943–975)¹⁷⁶] to Winchester Cathedral is an Ascension icon which includes...a temporal figure reminiscent of the fresco in Chapel 45 at Bawīt (Egypt).”¹⁷⁷ And a certain type of Icon of Coptic origin, combining the three themes of Advent, Ascension, and Judgment, is found inscribed on the coffin of Saint Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (*ca.* 634–687).^{178, 179} Beyond the realm of iconography and manuscript illumination, a few other art forms also attest to Byzantine influence or origin. One such example includes *ἑντίδια* or *flabella*, the Eucharistic fans of which mention is made in Celtic liturgical texts,¹⁸⁰ and which may also be seen artistically represented in the *Book of Kells*.¹⁸¹

Turning to architectural considerations, we might note the use of windowsills as bookshelves in the lives of the Egyptian Desert Fathers, a practice found in Celtic monasteries of this period.¹⁸² The *clochan*—the distinctive beehive cell built of unmortared stone, characteristic of Hibernian monasticism, found most

¹⁷⁵ Kenneth Mildener, “Unity of Cynewulf’s Christ in Light of Iconography,” *Speculum*, Vol. XXIII (1948), pp. 428, 430. Although the author here refers to Scotland as “Anglo-Saxon,” it was, of course, actually Celtic.

¹⁷⁶ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on July 8.

¹⁷⁷ Kenneth Mildener, “Unity of Cynewulf’s Christ in Light of Iconography,” *Speculum*, Vol. XXIII (1948), pp. 430–431.

¹⁷⁸ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 20 and the Translation of his Relics on September 4.

¹⁷⁹ Kenneth Mildener, “Unity of Cynewulf’s Christ in Light of Iconography,” *Speculum*, Vol. XXIII (1948), p. 432.

¹⁸⁰ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁸¹ Dom Louis Gougau, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 360; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo* (London: 1906), p. 55.

¹⁸² *The Desert Fathers*, trans. Helen Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

notably on deserted islands which Celtic monastics established as isolated refuges for the more solitary life—is reminiscent of a monastic abode of the Egyptian desert.¹⁸³ In terms of ecclesiastical buildings, it may be observed that Coptic Churches were of general Byzantine structure, but with certain unique features. Specifically, the “church[es] consisted of a nave plus ‘wagon-vaulted’ side aisles—a structure found only in Egypt, in Celtic lands, and *nowhere else*.”¹⁸⁴ Another Coptic style, mentioned in the writings of the Desert Fathers, is that of several small Chapels rather than one large central Church within a monastic community—a pattern also found in Hibernia.¹⁸⁵ One can, indeed, encounter examples of this elsewhere in the East, but it is significant that in Egypt this was a particularly monastic phenomenon, one explicitly mentioned in Coptic monastic writings. It is, finally, to be noted that all of these artistic and architectural influences are, in one way or another, related to monasticism.

By way of a possible, if not probable, explanation, we might point out that all of the subjects dealt with so far in this study—artistic ones not excluded—arose in the period of the sixth and seventh centuries. Clearly, then, Oriental and, in particular, Coptic influence, if present, must have taken place within a period of only a few generations. Moreover, we also know that the fifth century witnessed the beginning of the Arab¹⁸⁶ invasions in several areas where Byzantine monastic life was thriving. This includes Egypt, where the first ravaging of the great monastic center of Scetis, in the Lower Nile region, occurred in 407 or 408, while the final devastation took place in the second half of the sixth century. Might not some Egyptian monastics have fled the Arabs, moving instead to the Occident? It is generally accepted

¹⁸³ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 341; Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁸⁴ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁵ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁸⁶ The term “Arab,” here, refers to pre-Islamic tribes of invaders.

that at least a few did, in fact, seek refuge in Western Europe; what is uncertain, however, is whether any of these Egyptian monastics actually traveled as far west as Hibernia.

CHAPTER 7

LITURGICS

A crucial aspect of the monastic's life is that of prayer, both communal and individual. By the Savior's commandment, "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret,"¹⁸⁷ the latter is, of necessity, a private matter. Hence, although within the *corpus* of monastic literature there are certain writings on personal prayer, they are of a somewhat generalized nature, dealing more with *how* to pray than with *what* to pray. Thus, in studying influences on prayer life, we are limited to the corporate prayer life of monastic communities, *viz.*, the Divine Services and, chief among them, the Divine Liturgy. Moreover, as more than one scholar of Orthodox Christianity has noted, such liturgical prayer life being so integral and vital to Eastern Church life in general, as it was throughout the early monastic world both East and West, the comparative study of liturgics can tell us much about the interaction between various local Churches.

Unfortunately, when we speak of the Divine Liturgy itself—the very *raison d'être* of the liturgical cycle—we are limited by the fact that only fragments of the Celtic Rite have survived to the present. We do not have, for example, an entire Celtic Ἀνάφορα—the heart of the Eucharistic Service—to study. Yet from what scholars have been able to piece together, certain facts do emerge. The Celtic form of the Divine Liturgy appears to be part of the family known as the Gallic Rite,¹⁸⁸ and it exhibits some identifiably Eastern influences. Eastern influence is evident in the Gallic Rite itself, meaning that we remain uncertain as to whether or not there was a greater Eastern influence in the Celtic as opposed to the Gallic Rite. It must be remembered that the introduction

¹⁸⁷ St. Matthew 6:6.

¹⁸⁸ Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame, IN: 1959), p. 232.

of Christianity into Hibernia predates the great rise of monasticism; as a consequence, we should not expect direct Byzantine influence on already existing liturgical practices, such as the Eucharist itself, these having already been basically established by the end of the fifth century. In Eastern Orthodox monastic writings, we come across little concerning the Eucharist proper; rather, we find a wealth of literature concerning the other Divine Services. Thus, any Byzantine liturgical influences on Hibernia are to be found in the daily cycle of Divine Services. This indeed proves to be the case. Although we will later indicate some Oriental influences on the Celtic Eucharist, generally the influences outside of the Divine Liturgy (being, properly speaking, more monastic in character) will prove to be more revealing and less uncertain.

To begin with, we will not find any exact parallels between, say, the writings of Saint John Cassian and those of Hibernian writers regarding the Divine Services. Although there is much in Saint Cassian on this subject, it is, at times, sketchy; he seems to assume many things on the reader's part, and it is difficult to come up with a precise scheme of Services. On the other hand, certain unmistakable similarities between Saint Cassian and Celtic literature on this subject are obvious—so much so that, in the Celtic cycle, “we shall not fail to recognize...a family resemblance with the services described in [Saint] Cassian's *Institutes*.”¹⁸⁹ Let us now examine this “family resemblance.”

In his *Regula Monachorum*, Saint Columbanus of Luxeuil devotes an entire section to the Divine Services; along with *The Antiphonary of Bangor* (from the early seventh century) and *The Bobbio Missal*, this comprises our major source regarding Hibernian liturgical practice. Saint Columbanus, “in agreement with our predecessors,”¹⁹⁰ as he states the matter, proceeds to describe in

¹⁸⁹ “A Service Book of the Seventh Century,” *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxxvii (1894), p. 340.

¹⁹⁰ [St.] Columbanus, “Regula Cœnobialis,” in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, vii.

detail the exact and extensive use of the Psalter in the Services, a practice common, of course, to Christian monasticism in general. Consistent with Saint John Cassian, Saint Columbanus prescribes for the longest of the monastic Services, *matutinum* (modern-day Matins), a variable number of Psalms, dependent on the season of the year and, hence, the length of the nights, since *matutinum* was typically served during the middle of the night and lasted until daybreak.¹⁹¹ Another common element found in Saints Cassian and Columbanus is the prescription for longer Services, especially Matins, on the liturgically "festal" days of Saturday and Sunday.¹⁹² For the shorter Services, *viz.*, the Hours (in Latin, *prime* [the First Hour], *terce* [the Third Hour], *sext* [the Sixth Hour], and *none* [the Ninth Hour]) in Saint John, Saint Columbanus, and *The Antiphony of Bangor*, we find included, among the various prayers, three Psalms.¹⁹³ Furthermore, for the two evening Services following the "day Hours," one finds in both Saint Cassian and Hibernia the "canonical number of twelve Psalms" (also found in Saint Pachomios the Great, our other major Coptic source).¹⁹⁴ And among the prayers used at the Service of Matins, it is interesting to note that the Celtic version of *Gloria in Excelsis* (known in Orthodoxy as the Great Doxology) was recited with the Greek or Eastern wording.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ "A Service Book of the Seventh Century," *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxxvii (1894), pp. 343-344; [St.] John Cassian, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian, op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. xi of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.3.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, III.10.

¹⁹³ "A Service Book of the Seventh Century," *Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxxvii (1894), p. 344; [St.] John Cassian, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian, op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. xi of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.3.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, III.3; John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

¹⁹⁵ "Antiphony of Bangor," in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

More specific details reveal further striking similarities. Besides the aforementioned longer Matins Service on Saturdays and Sundays, common to both traditions, there is generally in Celtic writings more of this Egyptian (as well as Syro-Palestinian) reverence for these days liturgically and otherwise.¹⁹⁶ Also, some features of the canonical "day Hours" are derived, it would seem, from Saint Cassian. The pattern of three Psalms at each of these has already been mentioned; both the Celts and the Copts mention six prayers or petitions;¹⁹⁷ and both include various other prayers or meditations based on the "mystical" meanings associated with these times of the day—*e.g.*, the Third Hour as a commemoration of the sending down of the Holy Spirit upon the Holy Apostles at Pentecost,¹⁹⁸ the Ninth Hour as a commemoration of the time of day when Christ died on the Cross,¹⁹⁹ *etc.*

We may also mention Celtic adherence to what remains standard Orthodox usage in reciting, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, both now and ever, and unto the ages of ages, amen" after all three Psalms of the Hours, just as in the writings of Saints Cassian and Pachomios, rather than after each Psalm, as was the practice in both Rome and Gaul at that time.²⁰⁰ In addition, there are certain devotional practices—a proscription against kneeling on Sundays or during the Paschal season, for example—common to both Hibernia and the Orient.²⁰¹ In light of

¹⁹⁶ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 323; John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

¹⁹⁷ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 330; St. Pachomius the Great, "The Rule of St. Pachomius," in *Pachomian Koinonia*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 23.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Acts 2:15: "For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day."

¹⁹⁹ Cf. St. Matthew 27:46: "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?' that is to say, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?'"

²⁰⁰ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

²⁰¹ John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

all of these similarities, it is highly probable that the “predecessors” to whom Saint Columbanus refers included Saint Cassian and, perhaps, though a little less obviously, Saint Pachomios. We are, at any rate, certain that Saint John Cassian is one of the Byzantine Fathers whose writings Celtic monastics knew at least in part. At this point, it would be helpful to compile a short list of all of the Eastern Orthodox Fathers to be gathered from various Celtic writings of the sixth and seventh centuries:

- Saint Pachomios the Great
- Saint Jerome of Stridonium (who, as we know, wrote on both Egyptian and Palestinian monasticism)
- Saint Athanasios the Great (in particular, his *Life of Saint Anthony*)
- Saint Basil the Great
- Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–386)²⁰²
- Saint Gregory of Nyssa
- another Saint Gregory (most likely the Theologian)
- Saint Macarios the Great²⁰³

We might further mention in this context (for it will become very relevant to our thesis) the various Gallic monastic authors known in Hibernia; they include Saint Martin of Tours, Saint Honoratus of Arles, Saint Germanos of Auxerre, and Saint Cæsarius of Arles (ca. 470–542).²⁰⁴ Finally, Saint Columba himself claims to have copied or styled his monastic Services on the writings of Saint John Cassian—one of only a few overt references.²⁰⁵

The various Celtic writings in question also manifest a unity with Coptic usage of the time, in the exact number and nature of the canonical Hours of the Divine Services. Before the seventh century, when the First Hour and Compline were yet in

²⁰² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 18.

²⁰³ James Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, NY: 1929), p. 214; “Cursus Scottorum,” in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, op. cit., pp. 77–80.

²⁰⁴ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on August 27.

²⁰⁵ Dom Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, op. cit., p. 330.

the developmental stage (the First Hour, for example, being separated from the end of Matins), we find in sixth-century Hibernia the same six canonical Hours that Saint Cassian tells us were in use in Egypt at this time: Matins, the Third Hour, the Sixth Hour, the Ninth Hour, Vespers, and Midnight Service (*vigila*).²⁰⁶ It is significant that by this time, the Service of the First Hour was in monastic use in Syria, Palestine, Cappadocia, and Gaul.²⁰⁷

In addition, there is the unique monastic Service in honor of the Mother of God (a Service which is still used in many Eastern Orthodox monasteries), known as the Elevation of the *Panagia*. Strictly speaking, it is not part of the daily liturgical cycle, but rather a brief set of prayers performed before and after communal meals in the refectory, especially after the Divine Liturgy (which would, of course, be preceded by a period of fasting, as it still is in the Orthodox Church). We find mention of this Service in Saint John Cassian's writings, as well as in the *Regula Cœnobialis* of Saint Columbanus.²⁰⁸ Interestingly, this short Service has caused not a little confusion among certain scholars writing on Celtic and Oriental liturgics—a confusion undoubtedly arising from an unfamiliarity with Eastern Orthodox liturgics, in general, and their observance in the monastic setting, in particular.²⁰⁹ Frederick Edward Warren

²⁰⁶ John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development*, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

²⁰⁷ [St.] John Cassian, "Institutes," in *Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian*, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., Vol. XI of *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, III.4; St. Basil the Great, "The Long Rules," in *Ascetical Works*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX of *The Fathers of the Church*, p. 37.

²⁰⁸ [St.] Columbanus, "Regula Cœnobialis," in *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, ed. John T. McNeill and Helena Gamer, *op. cit.*, XII.

²⁰⁹ Unfortunately, this unfamiliarity extends to most contemporary Orthodox Christians as well, many of whom have little or no exposure to authentic Orthodox monasticism. This being the case, we offer, here, a brief description of the "Ὑψωσις τῆς Παναγίας for the reader's benefit. The *Panagia* is a small, triangular portion removed from the *prosporon* at the Divine Liturgy. Following the Liturgy itself, it is carried in procession from the Church to the *Trapeza* (Refectory)

(1842–1930), who has clearly done the most work in Celtic liturgics (his work, written at the turn of the twentieth century, remains unsurpassed in scope), nonetheless recognizes the Eastern origin of this Service, although it seems that he does not fully understand its place and purpose in Orthodox Christian monasteries.²¹⁰

Another Oriental custom, which also finds specific expression in the writings of Saint John Cassian, is the practice (a particularly monastic one) of two choirs singing hymns and Psalms alternately during the Divine Services—*i.e.*, antiphony.²¹¹ By tradition, this liturgical practice began with an Apostolic Father, Saint Ignatios the God-Bearer of Antioch (*ca.* 18–*ca.* 108),²¹² to whom it was Divinely revealed by Angels. Again, such a practice may be found

to the accompaniment of prayers and hymns. After the common meal, when the final blessing is given, the *Panagia* is elevated. Each of the brethren then partakes of the *Panagia*. This pious tradition originated with the Holy Apostles themselves, who had the habit of setting a place for Christ at their communal meals, as a token of His invisible presence among them. At the time of the Dormition of the Mother of God, the Apostles (who had been miraculously transported from the four corners of the earth to Gethsemane) assembled on the third day after her holy repose for their usual *Agape* meal, and, as was their custom, began the celebration of the Elevation. At the invocation of “Great is the Name of the Holy Trinity,” the Ever-Virgin Mary, bathed in ineffable glory and surrounded by brilliant Angels, suddenly appeared in their midst and greeted them: “Rejoice! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.” Whereas previously, at this point in the Elevation, they had said, “Lord Jesus Christ, help us!,” on this occasion they exclaimed instead, out of spontaneous joy, “Most Holy *Theotokos*, help us!” This appearance of the *Panagia* was followed by the Apostles’ examination of her sepulchre, where they discovered that her all-immaculate body had been mysteriously translated to Heaven, as an assurance of the general resurrection. Thus, the Elevation of the *Panagia* remains a poignant commemoration of the power of the Most Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mother who revealed Him to the world.

²¹⁰ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²¹¹ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

²¹² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on December 20 and the Translation of his Relics on January 29.

elsewhere in the East, not just in Egypt; still, the fact that we find explicit reference to this in Saint Cassian is of special significance for us. Apparently, the ancient custom of antiphonal singing was not introduced into Gallic liturgics until the seventh century.²¹³

We shall now turn to the Eucharist itself. As already stated, the fact that the other Services in the liturgical cycle of both Hibernia and Egypt so resemble one another is of great relevance for us; it demonstrates a strong and rather specific monastic influence. Concerning the Eucharist, although Eastern and, in particular, Coptic influences are discernible, it is more difficult to determine specific influences. By way of preface, we should trace the historical development of the Eucharist in the East, if we are to understand the difficulties involved in pinpointing exact influences. By the third and fourth centuries, seven basic types of Eucharistic Liturgies were actively used throughout the Catholic (*i.e.*, Orthodox) Church: five in the East, *viz.*, West Syrian, East Syrian, Byzantine, Cappadocian, Alexandrian (the Greek version of this being named after Saint Mark the Evangelist [†63],²¹⁴ the Coptic after Saint Cyril of Alexandria [*ca.* 375–444]²¹⁵); and two in the West, *viz.*, Roman and Gallic. By the end of the fourth century, in the East at least, the process of liturgical standardization had begun (paralleling the administrative centralization initiated at the Œcumenical Synods), with the result that the Byzantine and Cappadocian forms of the Divine Liturgy came to predominate. Hence, the peculiarly Egyptian form of the Liturgy (the Alexandrian version, with its variations) was probably not in general use in Egyptian monasteries by the fifth and sixth centuries, when this further Coptic influence upon the Divine Liturgy of the Celtic Church, conjointly with the other monastic influences under investigation, might be expected to surface. This fact should not be taken in an

²¹³ *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold (Oxford: 1978), p. 370.

²¹⁴ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 4 and April 25.

²¹⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 18 and June 9.

absolute sense, however, for the process of liturgical standardization was a gradual one, and local Liturgies did, in fact, linger on in certain areas of the Orient. Unfortunately, there is no systematic evaluation of how this occurred. What is interesting from our point of view is the theory that the original (probably Western or Gallic) Rite established in Hibernia with the first wave of Christianization (predating, again, the rise of monasticism beginning in the sixth century) was subsequently influenced by certain Byzantine customs in various parts of the Eucharistic Service. Such circumstances would further provide a very good argument for direct Eastern influence in Celtic lands in the sixth century. Although many points of Eastern influence can be found in Gaul as well—thus arguing for Gaul as an intermediary channel—it would appear that this does not account for all of the Eastern influences in the Celtic Rite.

In this context, mention should be made of *Cursus Scottorum*, a revealing and helpful manuscript, by an anonymous Hibernian monastic, which explores the origin of the Celtic Liturgy, and, in so doing, offers some illuminating facts. The author speaks directly of the Oriental origin of the Celtic Liturgy, but through Gallic channels—as we have already postulated. This does not disprove our thesis of direct Coptic influence. As we have already seen, such Eucharistic influence is not, strictly speaking, monastic in nature. Indirectly, this manuscript suggests that, regarding monastic life, although both that of the East and that of Gaul were known in Hibernia (Scottia), already by the time this text was composed in the sixth or seventh century, Gallic monastic life was very much on the decline.²¹⁶ It further implies that the strict ascetic monasticism of the Celtic Christians imitated the Eastern, predominantly Coptic, pattern; for, of the monastic Fathers mentioned, there are four Egyptian writers, one Palestinian (Malchus), and two Cappadocians. However, we saw earlier that Cappadocian coenobitism was

²¹⁶ "Cursus Scottorum," in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.

hardly the pattern of monastic life in Hibernia; the Oriental influence is that of the ascetic ideals advocated by the anchorites and semi-eremites of Egypt or Palestine. Clearly, once again, Egyptian influence predominates.

One final point: In terms of the intermediary nature of the Gallic Church, we should bear in mind that not all of the Eastern forms which we find both in Hibernia and in Gaul can be definitely established as having come to Gaul *first*. Much of the documented ecclesiastical life of this period is somewhat hazy, and, ironically, by the late sixth century missionary monastics from Hibernia were already exerting influence of their own on the Gallic Church, monastic and otherwise.

CHAPTER 8

PARTICULARS OF THE CELTIC EUCHARIST

Several distinctly Byzantine customs are observable in the Hibernian Eucharistic tradition; we will simply list them with a brief commentary. To begin with, Celtic Christians broke bread for the Eucharist in the Oriental way; the distribution of both the Body and the Blood of Christ to all communicants, a distinctly Eastern practice, was likewise found in Hibernia. The Celtic communion prayer read: "*Corpus cum sanguine domini nostri ihesu christi sanitas sit tibi in uitam perpetuam et salutem.*"²¹⁷ (The significance of this point is admittedly open to question, for communion in one kind may not have been established in the West until the eighth century.²¹⁸) Another custom universally observed in the Orient and also widespread in the Celtic lands was the "veiling of women" (*i.e.*, the wearing of a head-covering) at their reception of Holy Communion;²¹⁹ Saint Cuimmíne, for example, cites Saint Basil as an authority for this tradition. The practice was also found in Gaul, but was apparently not established until the late sixth century by the Synod of Auxerre.²²⁰

The Episcopal blessing, especially its bestowal immediately preceding the Communion of the people, is another Byzantine custom also found both in Hibernia and in Gaul (the writings of Saint Cæsarius of Arles *ca.* 500 testify to its use in the Gallic Church).²²¹

²¹⁷ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²¹⁸ Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York, NY: 1945), p. 629.

²¹⁹ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 136-137.

²²⁰ "Synod of Auxerre," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (New York, NY: 1908), Vol. 1, p. 385. This Synod took place in either 570 or 590.

²²¹ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 100-101.

Moreover, the distinctly Eastern Orthodox manner of blessing with the right hand—index finger extended, middle finger curved, thumb crossed over the ring finger, with the little finger curved²²²—is recognizably depicted in Celtic illuminations. Whether this particular manner of blessing was also used in Gaul is unknown.

Several other externals of Celtic worship are worth mentioning. The Celtic use of “crowns” suspended over shrines, which comes from the East, can also be found in Gaul.²²³ For example, such a crown was suspended over the tomb of Saint Martin of Tours, whence the practice might possibly have reached Hibernia. We know further of the Oriental custom of administering both reserved elements of the Eucharist (Bread and Wine) to those very ill or on their deathbeds. This practice has also been preserved in the form of the short Services accompanying such Communion in several Celtic service books, including those of Stowe, Deer, Dimma, and Mulling.²²⁴ Finally, we might point out, again, the Celtic use of Eucharistic fans, or *flabella*, which did not become widespread in the West until around the thirteenth century.²²⁵ A more interesting example of a Eucharistic feature which, although of Eastern origin, is obviously derived through Gallic influence is the “deprecatio sancti martini pro populo incipit” found in the Celtic *Stowe Missal*.²²⁶ There is an instance of this Oriental form in Gaul, where

²²² This digital configuration is by no means arbitrary: it is a manual rendition of IC XC , a standard Greek abbreviation for “Jesus Christ,” thus making it clear that in the act of blessing, it is the Lord Himself Who, through the Priest, bestows His Grace.

²²³ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²²⁶ “The Stowe Missal,” in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 229, 251.

²²⁷ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.

Saint Cæsarius makes allusions to such "litanies."²²⁷ Other Byzantine features can be observed in these Litanies. The Deacon's Bidding Prayer—in Eastern terminology, the Great Litany—, as found in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostomos (*ca.* 347–407),²²⁸ is also found in Celtic usage. Again, we find similar usage in Gaul.²²⁹ Mention is also made in the Celtic and Eastern Liturgies (for example, in those of Saint James the Apostle [†63],²³⁰ Saint Basil, Saint Chrysostomos, and both Saint Mark and Saint Cyril) of the commemoration of the various salvific acts of sacred history, such as the Passion, the Resurrection, and even the Second Coming: "Meam predicabitis, resurrectionem, meam adnuntiabitis, aduentum meum sperabitis, donec iterum ueniam ad uos de cælis."²³¹ There are other examples of the "commemoration" theme—an important one in Eastern Orthodox liturgiology—in other Celtic texts as well. The commemoration of Saints, as an expression of the unity of the One Church in Heaven and on earth, is to be found in Hibernia and the East alike. Warren writes that: "The same wide range is included in the language of the Eastern Liturgies."²³² As we have already said, of special interest, here, is the commemoration, after the Old Testament Prophets and the Apostles, of various Byzantine Hierarchs and Desert Fathers, most of whom (including almost all the monastics mentioned) were Egyptian.²³³

Another important point is that much of the vocabulary of the Celtic Rite seems to derive from the Orient. There is a Celtic

²²⁸ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on November 13 and January 30 and the Translation of his Relics on January 27.

²²⁹ "The Stowe Missal," in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 236.

²³⁰ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on October 23 and January 4.

²³¹ "The Stowe Missal," in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

²³² Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–263.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

reference to the Eucharist as a “sacrificium spirituale,” a phrase derived from Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, who makes reference to the “πνευματικὴ θυσία.”²³⁴ Likewise, the Greek ἀνάπαυσις or ἀναπαύσασθε (the Latin *pausantium*) is frequently used in both the East and the Celtic Rite.²³⁵ Similar nomenclature is also found in the phrase “inuenire quanta præparas sanctis electis tuis,” in the Eastern Liturgies of Saint Mark (Egyptian) and Saint James (Syrian).²³⁶ The Communion Hymn, or “Antiphon,” from the Celtic Rite, “Gustate et uidete quam suavis est dominus,”²³⁷ corresponds to the Eastern Orthodox Lenten Κοινωνικόν, “Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος.”²³⁸ Finally, we might mention a passage from *The Stowe Missal*—“Hic est panis uiuus qui de celo descendit”—which, Warren believes, derives from the Ethiopian Liturgy,²³⁹ a member of the Alexandrian family of Liturgies.

In terms of the Divine Liturgy, then, we arrive at two conclusions. First, that the Celtic Eucharist proper, the origin of which dates to the fifth century, shares many similarities with the Eucharistic rite of Gaul. Second, that other, and more “monastic,” Celtic liturgics, deriving from the sixth century independently of Gallic influence, display more direct Eastern (and especially Coptic) influences.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260 ff.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 264–265.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 247, 268.

²³⁷ Psalm 33:8 (LXX).

²³⁸ Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 266.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

We have discussed the widespread influence of Coptic monasticism, touching on nearly every aspect of Celtic monasticism. One has only to read the monastic writings of Saint John Cassian or Saint Pachomios the Great, and then compare them to various Celtic writings, to see this influence, which is made manifest in a sense of common "spirituality" in the two "schools" that is difficult at times to describe. We have already considered the possible ways in which such influence could have reached Celtic lands from Egypt, concluding that Gaul is the only really viable option. In terms of the Divine Liturgy, we can say that the original Eucharist celebrated in Hibernia, in the fifth century, was a form of the Gallic Rite—scholars are generally agreed upon this.²⁴⁰ Subsequently, further Oriental influence on the Celtic Liturgy came either indirectly through Gaul or directly from the East—most likely from Egypt. Still, this does not prove specific monastic influence: first, we have stated that the Divine Liturgy was not a specifically monastic Service, and second, at this time in the East, owing to processes of standardization and centralization within the Byzantine Church, local liturgical forms (*e.g.*, Syrian, Coptic, or Byzantine) were not unique unto themselves. The Eucharist, as celebrated in Egypt, was not necessarily Coptic in character; rather, many and various Eastern influences were already at work there. In considering liturgical influences on Celtic monasticism, we must therefore look at the rest of the Divine Services.

Gaul thus remains a strong possibility. In all of Continental Western Europe in the early Middle Ages, only in Gaul did monasticism acquire any truly widespread influence and acceptance before the eighth century. It is not until later that we see the growth of monasticism in Italy and Spain. However, even in

²⁴⁰ Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Gaul, by the sixth century, monastic life was not in the thriving state that it was a century or two earlier. By the time of the era which is the focus of this study, the ascetic level of Gallic monasticism had waned. A contemporary document from Hibernia, the aforementioned *Cursus Scottorum*, confirms this. If we look at the major historical figures of Gallic monasticism, they can be placed in the following time frames:

- Fourth century: Saint Hilary of Poitiers (*ca.* 315–*ca.* 367)²⁴¹ and Saint Martin of Tours
- Fourth to fifth centuries: Saint Honoratus of Arles
- Fifth century: Saint Germanos of Auxerre, Saint Hilary of Arles (401–449),²⁴² Saint Vincent of Lérins († *ca.* 445),²⁴³ and Gennadius of Marseilles (*fl.* 5th cen.)
- Fifth to sixth centuries: Saint Cæsarius of Arles

The Gallic Fathers already noted a decline in the level of monasticism and a general absence of the anchoritic life in the fifth century.²⁴⁴ This is most significant; for how, then, did anchoritism and the strong Celtic ascetic strain find its way from Egypt to Hibernia? Furthermore, and somewhat ironically, already by the end of the sixth and early seventh centuries, it was Celtic missionary monks on “pilgrimages” who strongly influenced the course of monastic life throughout Western Europe, including Gaul! It may very well be, then, that those Byzantine influences which we find in both Hibernia and Gaul during the sixth and seventh centuries (even the monastic liturgical elements which we have examined) are the result of Celtic influence in Gaul.

The problem in tracing such influence, however, is that it is difficult to place particular monastic forms in Hibernia or Gaul into an exact time period. Monasticism being inherently conser-

²⁴¹ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 13.

²⁴² The Orthodox Church commemorates him on May 5.

²⁴³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on May 24.

²⁴⁴ See “Cursus Scottorum,” in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*

vative, such things as monastic "Rules" do not exert widespread influence until at least a generation after their composition. Hence, in looking at Gallic monastic "Rules" that were likely to have influenced the state of monasticism in sixth-century Celtic lands, one must concentrate on Gallic writings of the fifth century rather than those of the sixth century.

Several interesting ideas occur in this connection. Was the initial monasticism in fifth-century Hibernia, largely established through the efforts of Saint Patrick of Armagh, a form of monasticism which he learned while in Gaul? Was, then, the subsequent Coptic influence on the Celts in the sixth century a much more direct influence, possibly through travel by Egyptian monks to Hibernia, or *vice versa*? This is a possible conclusion with regard to liturgical matters. Moreover, could the monasticism of Saint John Cassian, who died around 433 in Marseilles, have influenced Saint Cæsarius of Arles, who in turn exerted influence on Celtic monasticism? It would appear that Saint Cassian did, in fact, influence the monasticism of Saint Cæsarius to some degree.²⁴⁵ However, this does not account for the other Coptic influences, most notably that of Saint Pachomios, in Hibernia. Furthermore, there are other Eastern influences, besides Saint Cassian, in the writings of Saint Cæsarius, including some non-Egyptian features to which we will turn shortly. What we must do, then, is compare the various major themes of Gallic monastic life with comparable themes in Hibernia and Egypt. In recognizing certain patterns of monastic life in Gaul, we shall see that some of them are common to Egypt and Hibernia, while other major patterns are not.

As regards Gallic monasticism itself, we are in no way denying its Oriental origin. Aside from the highly important figure of Saint Cassian, among the aforementioned Gallic Fathers several were known to have sojourned in the East for a time, including

²⁴⁵ T. Scott Holmes, *The Christian Church in Gaul* (London: 1911), pp. 505-506.

Saint Honoratus of Arles, Saint Hilary of Poitiers, and perhaps Saint Martin of Tours. However, Saint Honoratus, and possibly Saint Martin, were influenced by the Palestinian *lavra* type of semi-eremitism,²⁴⁶ which, as we have seen, did not have much influence in Hibernia. Various other Byzantine influences—for example, the Cappadocian stress on coenobitism—also seem to have had a considerable effect on Gaul.²⁴⁷ This is unlike Hibernia, where Egyptian monastic forms strongly predominated.

And yet there are certain perhaps not insignificant links in a possible Egypt–Gaul–Hibernia chain. This we have observed, for instance, in the section on the Eucharist. Other liturgical forms can also be mentioned, such as a number of liturgical hymns composed by Saint Hilary of Poitiers, which were known in Celtic lands.²⁴⁸ We can also refer to the *Cursus Scottorum* manuscript, which exhibits familiarity with the major Gallic monastic figures, including Saints Cæsarius, Honoratus, Germanos, Martin, *et al.* The attitude of the author of this document towards Gaul is also revealing. This Celtic monk is evidently familiar with the state of monasticism in Gaul, for he comments that by the fifth century it was already on the decline spiritually.²⁴⁹ He says nothing concerning Gallic monastic influence in Hibernia; instead, in referring to the declining standard of monasticism in Gaul, he is obviously familiar with higher standards, which he in fact labels as Eastern. Another possible link in the chain is found in references to isolated Celtic islands that became monastic refuges, usually known as *diserts*. Apparently, the use of

²⁴⁶ Nora K. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁴⁷ "Rule of the Holy Fathers," in *Early Monastic Rules: The Rules of the Fathers and the Regula Orientalis*, trans. Carmela Viricillo Franklin, Ivan Havenner, and J. Alcuin Francis (Collegeville, MN: 1982), pp. 16–31.

²⁴⁸ Daphne Desirée Charlotte Pochin Mould, *Ireland of the Saints*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁴⁹ "Cursus Scottorum," in Frederick Edward Warren, *The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Celtic Church*, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–80.

such islands as monastic settlements in Gaul predates their existence in Hibernia; Southeastern Gaul—near Marseilles, Lérins, and Arles—witnessed the initial establishment of such places.²⁵⁰ It may be significant that such establishments were never referred to as *diserts* in Gaul. Nonetheless, Gaul may be the origin of Celtic islands that later became centers for an especially rigorous monastic life (including anchoritism).

Let us consider those liturgical Services not directly related to the Eucharist, in order to see if any further links in the Egypt–Gaul–Hibernia chain are evident. In the sixth century, the Services of *prime* and Compline were just being developed; actually, Compline would not become widespread until around the eighth century. However, Celtic monasticism shares in common with Coptic monasticism of the sixth century certain Services: Matins, *terce*, *sext*, *none*, Vespers, and the Midnight Service (the Eucharist standing outside this cycle of Services, theologically and otherwise). Common to both the Celts and the Copts was the absence of *prime*; in Gaul at the time, however, this Service (one which developed originally in Palestine) *was* to be found, as we know from the writings of Saint Cassian. Furthermore, from the writings of Saint Cæsarius, we are also aware that the Service of Lauds existed in Gaul at this time.²⁵¹ We find no such Service in Hibernia or in Egypt. From these two instances alone, both of which are major aspects of the Divine Services, it is clear that Egyptian monastic liturgics did not arrive in Hibernia by way of Gaul. An even more detailed study of the various particulars of liturgics—*i.e.*, which hymns and which Psalms were used in which Services—proves to be still more illuminating and more

²⁵⁰ Nora K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

²⁵¹ *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, *op. cit.*, p. 183. By way of explanation, Matins in the Eastern Orthodox Church corresponds to the Roman Catholic services of matins and lauds, so that already in Gaul by the late fifth or early sixth century, we see the development of what was to be a peculiarly Latin office of prayer.

conclusive, with regard to the spread of monastic influence in these lands. We have cited, for instance, the Greek version of the *Gloria in Excelsis* hymn as found in Hibernia in *The Antiphony of Bangor*.²⁵² It would be interesting and very significant if the same Greek wording could be found in a Gallic version of this hymn, since it is highly unlikely that such a specific detail would be merely coincidental.

As for the various Gallic monastic "rules," three in particular deserve our attention. Firstly, *The Rule of Saint Casarius of Arles*, which we have already mentioned; secondly, there is *The Rule of the Holy Fathers Serapion, Macarios, Paphnoutios, and Another Macarios*, probably a fifth-century text from Lérins; and, thirdly, *The Second Rule of the Fathers*, which is also probably a fifth-century text from Lérins. The second rule in particular would appear at first glance to display Coptic influence—Saint Serapion of Thmuis († ca. 366),²⁵³ Saint Macarios the Great, Saint Paphnoutios the Great (fl. 4th cen.),²⁵⁴ and Saint Macarios of Alexandria († ca. 394)²⁵⁵ were all Egyptians; yet, from a reading of the text itself, it appears to be an overtly cœnobitic (indeed, even anti-anchoritic) rule, very much in the tradition of Saint Basil the Great. The names of the Desert Fathers attached to this work are merely pseudonyms, for the monastic life it describes does not resemble either Coptic or Celtic monasticism.

The Rule of Saint Casarius appears to be more promising; there is much in it to suggest familiarity with the works of Saint John Cassian. However, there are also several features not found in Saint Cassian or any other of the major Egyptian works; for instance, Saturdays did not have the festive character which we find both in Hibernia and in Egypt;²⁵⁶ there is an element of

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on March 21.

²⁵⁴ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on February 25.

²⁵⁵ The Orthodox Church commemorates him on January 19.

²⁵⁶ "Rule of Cæsarius," in *Dictionary of Christian Antiquity*, ed. W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1236.

mild corporal punishment not found in Egypt, though it is found in Hibernia; there is also some emphasis on the dignity of the monastic Priesthood, at a time in Egypt that this idea was just developing; and while there is a threefold division of the monastic's day into prayer, study, and work, the exact method of division does not follow the Coptic pattern.²⁵⁷

In conclusion, we may say:

- 1) Early Gallic influence on Hibernian Christianity is evident in the fifth century, while later in the sixth century there appears to be significant Coptic influence of a specifically monastic kind.
- 2) There are evident similarities between Egyptian and Celtic monasticism that separate the two from other forms of monasticism—Eastern and Western—at this time.
- 3) Egyptian monasticism is, obviously, the older form of these two.
- 4) The cumulative evidence suggests that there is specific Coptic influence on Celtic monasticism, though its lines of transmission are not always clear.
- 5) Gaul is one possible medium of influence. But, as we have seen, there are important differences between Gallic, Coptic, and Celtic monastic life. Egyptian influence through the “intermediary” of Gaul alone, then, cannot account for all of the Coptic traits in Hibernian monasticism.
- 6) Therefore, we cautiously conclude that early sixth-century travels northward by a few Coptic monastics, and the existence of substantial Egyptian monastic literature in Hibernia, account for the Eastern influences on early Celtic monasticism which we have examined.

In any event, it is clear from our study that early Celtic monasticism was Byzantine in character, *i.e.*, a manifestation of the Eastern Orthodox Faith. The cultural hegemony of the Roman Em-

²⁵⁷ Cf. ВЕЛІКІЙ ЧАСОСЛОВЪ, *op. cit.*, pp. 462-463.

pire, which extended beyond its political borders, decisively shaped the spiritual environment of ancient Hibernia. Thus it is that even today many early Irish holy men and women naturally find themselves among the Saints venerated by the Orthodox Church.



The life of the Desert Fathers

INDEX

A

"Abbatial Bishops," 20, 29
 Abbots, 20, 29-30
 Abraham the Patriarch, Saint, 31
 accidie, 43
 Adamnan of Iona, Saint, 37-38, 43,
 46
 Advent, 58
Agape meal, 67
 Aidus of Ferns, Saint, 46
 Aileran of Clonard, Saint, 34
 Alexander of Svir, Saint, 35
 Alexandria, 14
 Alexandrian Rite, 68, 74
 ἀναπαύσασθε, 74
 ἀνάπαυσις, 74
 Ἀνάφορα, 61
 anchorites and anchoritism, 12, 14,
 23-24, 26-30, 33, 36, 47, 52,
 59, 70, 76, 79
 Angels, Holy, 38, 47, 67
 anger, 42-43
 Angus of Tallaght, Saint, 46
 animal motifs, 56-57
 animals, 47
 Anthony the Great, Saint, 26, 27,
 32, 34, 40, 43, 44, 47-48, 57
 Antiphon, 74
Antiphony of Bangor, The, 56, 62-
 63, 80
 antiphony, 67-68
Apophthegmata of the Fathers, The,
 40, 46, 51
 Apostles, Holy, 32, 64, 67, 73

Arab invasions, 59
 Archimandrite, 53
 Arles, 79
 Armenia, 27
 Armenian monks, 22, 50
 arsenic trisulfide, 54
 Ascension of Christ, 58
 Asia, 54
 Asia Minor, 24
 Athanasios the Great, Saint, 34, 38,
 65
 Athens, 32
 Augustine of Hippo, Saint, 34
 Auxerre, 11, 18
 Auxerre, Synod of, 71

B

Bangor, 37, 40, 52
bas-relief, 55
 Basil the Great, Saint, 25-26, 28,
 33, 48, 53, 65, 71, 73, 80
 bathing, 42
 Bawīt, 58
 Benedict of Nursia, Saint, 28, 53
 Benedictine Rule, 16, 28
 Bethlehem, 27
 Bidding Prayer, 73
 Bishops, 19-20, 29, 49, 73
 blessing, 71-72
Bobbio Missal, The, 62
Book of Durrow, 57
Book of Kells, 56, 58
 βοσχοί, 47
 Bouyer, Louis, 24-25

Brendan of Clonfert, Saint, 34, 46-
47
Brigid of Kildare, Saint, 16
Britain, 9, 11, 50
Burgundy, 18
Byzantine Empire, 10
Byzantine Rite, 68
Byzantium, 10

C

Cæsarea, 25
Cæsarius of Arles, Saint, 65, 71-72,
77-79
Candida Casa, 12
Cappadocia, 24-25, 33, 45, 66
Cappadocian Rite, 68
Cathach, 34
Celtic Rite, 61, 69, 73-75
Chadwick, Nora Kershaw, 22, 36
Chapel 45, 58
Chapels, 59
chastity, 40
Christ, the Lord Jesus, 15, 19, 30,
57, 61, 64, 67, 71-72
Churches, 59
clochan, 58
cænobia, 26, 36
cœnobites and cœnobitism, 14, 18,
23-29, 40, 53, 69, 78, 80
Columba of Iona, Saint, 33-34, 36-
39, 43, 46, 65
Columbanus of Luxeuil, Saint,
40-43, 52, 62-63, 65-66
Columcille of Iona, Saint, 37
commemoration of Saints, 73
Communion Hymn, 74
Communion, Holy, 71-72

Compline, 65, 79
Confession, Holy, 41
Constantine the Great, Saint, 10
Constantinople, 10
Continental Europe, 32-33, 36, 40,
45, 48, 53, 75
"Coptic," 14, 68
Coptic Art, 56
Coptic Orthodox Church, 14
corporal punishment, 48, 81
Cross motifs, 56-57
"Cross vigil," 45
"Cross-gill" position, 45
"crowns," 72
Crucifixion of Christ, 64
Cuimínne Fota, Saint, 34, 43, 71
Cursus Scottorum, 69, 76, 78
Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, Saint, 58
Cyril of Alexandria, Saint, 68, 73
Cyril of Belozersk, Saint, 35
Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint, 65, 74

D

"day Hours," 63-64
Deacons, 19, 73
Deer, 72
demons, 38
Desert Fathers, 23, 32, 35-37, 46, 51,
58-59, 65, 69, 73, 80, 83
despondency, 43
διάρχουσιν, 43
Dimma, 72
discernment, 38, 43
disert, 37, 52, 78, 79
Dísert Uí Laig, 50
Divine Liturgy, 41, 61-62, 66, 68-
69, 73-75

Divine Services, 40-41, 52, 61-68,
72, 75, 79
Donation of King Edgar, 58
Dormition of the *Theotokos*, 67

E

East Syrian Rite, 68
Edgar the Peaceable, Saint, 58
Egypt, 10, 14, 18, 22, 24-27, 29, 32-
36, 41, 45-47, 49-52, 55-56,
58-59, 66, 68, 70, 75-81
Egyptians, 14
Elders, 29
Elevation of the *Panagia*, 66-67
"Episcopal Abbots," 20, 29
eremites (hermits) and eremitism,
14, 18, 26, 29, 34, 36
Ethiopia, 56
Ethiopian Rite, 74
Eucharist, Holy, 62, 68, 71-75, 78-
79
Eucharistic fans, 58, 72
Evagrius the Solitary, 25, 33, 43, 46
Evthymios the Great, Saint, 24
exile, 30-31

F

fasting, 17, 28, 30, 39, 42, 66
Fiacre of Meaux, Saint, 32
Finnian of Clonard, Saint, 33-34
First Hour, the, 63, 65-66
flabella, 58, 72
folk motifs, 55

G

Gall of Lake Constance, Saint, 32
Gallic Rite, 61, 68-69, 75

Gaul, 11-13, 16, 18-20, 36, 40, 50-
51, 53, 64, 66, 69-79, 81
geilt, 47

Gennadios of Marseilles, 76
Germanos of Auxerre, Saint, 18, 65,
76, 78

Gethsemane, 67
Gibbon, Edward, 10
Gloria in Excelsis, 63, 80
gluttony, 42-43
Gospel 51, 58
Gospels, 33
Grace of God, 38, 72
"grazers," 47
Great Doxology, 63
Great Litany, 73
Greece, 23
Greek, 34-35, 51-52, 63, 68, 72, 80
"green Martyrdom," 30
Gregory of Nazianzos, Saint, 25
Gregory of Nyssa, Saint, 25, 31-32,
65
Gregory the Theologian, Saint, 25,
65

H

head-coverings, 71
Hebrew, 52
Henry, Françoise, 56-57
Hibernia, 8, 9-10, 12-13, 18-20, 22,
25, 29, 32-33, 35-37, 41, 45,
47-48, 50-55, 57, 59-60, 62-
66, 68-73, 75-82
Hilary of Arles, Saint, 76
Hilary of Poitiers, Saint, 76, 78
History of the Monks, The, 51
Holy City, 22

Brendan of Clonfert, Saint, 34, 46–
47
Brigid of Kildare, Saint, 16
Britain, 9, 11, 50
Burgundy, 18
Byzantine Empire, 10
Byzantine Rite, 68
Byzantium, 10

C

Cæsarea, 25
Cæsarius of Arles, Saint, 65, 71–72,
77–79
Candida Casa, 12
Cappadocia, 24–25, 33, 45, 66
Cappadocian Rite, 68
Cathach, 34
Celtic Rite, 61, 69, 73–75
Chadwick, Nora Kershaw, 22, 36
Chapel 45, 58
Chapels, 59
chastity, 40
Christ, the Lord Jesus, 15, 19, 30,
57, 61, 64, 67, 71–72
Churches, 59
clochan, 58
cænobia, 26, 36
cœnobites and cœnobitism, 14, 18,
23–29, 40, 53, 69, 78, 80
Columba of Iona, Saint, 33–34, 36–
39, 43, 46, 65
Columbanus of Luxeuil, Saint,
40–43, 52, 62–63, 65–66
Columcille of Iona, Saint, 37
commemoration of Saints, 73
Communion Hymn, 74
Communion, Holy, 71–72

Compline, 65, 79
Confession, Holy, 41
Constantine the Great, Saint, 10
Constantinople, 10
Continental Europe, 32–33, 36, 40,
45, 48, 53, 75
“Coptic,” 14, 68
Coptic Art, 56
Coptic Orthodox Church, 14
corporal punishment, 48, 81
Cross motifs, 56–57
“Cross vigil,” 45
“Cross-gill” position, 45
“crowns,” 72
Crucifixion of Christ, 64
Cuimhne Fota, Saint, 34, 43, 71
Cursus Scottorum, 69, 76, 78
Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, Saint, 58
Cyril of Alexandria, Saint, 68, 73
Cyril of Belozersk, Saint, 35
Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint, 65, 74

D

“day Hours,” 63–64
Deacons, 19, 73
Deer, 72
demons, 38
Desert Fathers, 23, 32, 35–37, 46, 51,
58–59, 65, 69, 73, 80, 83
despondency, 43
διδάκταις, 43
Dimma, 72
discernment, 38, 43
disert, 37, 52, 78, 79
Dísert Uí Laig, 50
Divine Liturgy, 41, 61–62, 66, 68–
69, 73–75

Holy Land, 50
 Holy Spirit, 64
 Holy Trinity, 67
 Holy Trinity—Saint Sergios *Lavra*,

20

Honoratus of Arles, Saint, 18, 65,
 76, 78
 hospitality, 39
 Hours, the, 63–66
 human figure, 54–55
 humility, 17, 43
 hymns, 67, 78–80
 Ὑψωσις τῆς Παναγίας, 66

I

iconography, 54, 57–58
 Ignatios the God-Bearer of Anti-
 och, Saint, 67
Institutes, The, 62
 Iona, 36–37
 Ireland, 9, 12, 33, 37
 Irish, 37
 İstanbul, 10
 Italy, 53, 75

J

James the Apostle, Saint, 73–74
 jealousy, 43
 Jerome of Stridonium, Saint, 24–
 27, 33–34, 47–48, 51, 65
 Jerusalem, 22
 John Cassian the Roman, Saint, 12–
 13, 18, 25–27, 33–34, 36, 38–43,
 46, 48, 51, 62–68, 75, 77, 79–
 80
 John Chrysostomos, Saint, 73

John Climacos, Saint, 31
 John Moschos, Saint, 27, 32
 Judgment Day, 58

K

Kevin of Glendalough, Saint, 46
 Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Saint, 45
 kneeling, 42, 64
 Κοινωνικόν, 74

L

Ladder of Divine Ascent, The, 31
 lapis lazuli, 54
 Latin, 34–35, 37, 51–52
 Lauds, 79
 laughter, 41
Lausaic History, The, 48, 50
lavras, 14, 18, 24, 78
 laziness, 42
 learning and study, 18, 20, 24, 32–
 33, 35, 39–40, 81
 Lérins, 11, 18, 79–80
 Levant, the, 22
Life of Saint Anthony, The, 26, 30–
 31, 34, 36, 38, 42, 51, 65
Life of Saint Columba, The, 36–38,
 45
Life of Saint Pachomios, The, 30, 45
 Lindisfarne, 12
Lindisfarne Gospels, 54, 56
 litanies, 32, 72–73
 Livinus of Aalst, Saint, 32
 love, 40
 lust, 43

M

Macarios of Alexandria, Saint, 80
 Macarios the Great, Saint, 25, 46-47, 65, 80
 Máedóc of Ferns, Saint, 46
 Malchus, 69
 manual labor, 28, 30, 33, 39-40, 42, 81
 manuscript illuminations, 33, 54-56, 58, 72
 Mark the Evangelist, Saint, 68, 73-74
 Marseilles, 77, 79
 Martin of Tours, Saint, 51, 65, 72, 76, 78
 Martyrdom, 17, 30
 Mary, the Blessed Ever-Virgin *Theotokos*, 66-67
 Matins, 63-64, 66, 79
matutinum, 63
 McNeill, John Thomas, 16
 melancholy, 43
 Mesopotamia, 27
 Midnight Service, 66, 79
 missionaries, 15, 18-19, 32, 70, 76
 Moldavia, 23
 Monastery of Saint Catherine, 20
 "monastic Martyrdom," 30
 monastic rules, 13, 25, 36-37, 39, 47, 80
 Monophysites, 14
 mortification, 40, 46
 Moscow, Patriarch of, 20
 Mount Athos, 23
 Mount Sinai, 27
 Mount Sinai, Archbishop of, 20
 Mulling, 72

N

"New Rome," 10
 Nicodemos the Hagiorite, Saint, 23
 Nile River, 14, 26, 59
 Ninth Hour, the, 63-64, 66
 Nitria, 22, 26
none, 63, 79
 Northern Thebaïd, 28, 35, 52
 novitiate, 43, 45

O

obedience, 39-41
 Odoacer, 10
 Œcumenical Synods, the, 68
 Old Testament, 31
On Pilgrimages, 31
 Origen, 34, 51
 orpiment, 54

P

Pachomios the Great, Saint, 16, 18, 25-27, 34, 36, 39-42, 47-48, 51, 63-65, 75, 77
 Paisios of Neamt, Saint, 23
 Palestine, 14, 24, 26-27, 29, 33-34, 36, 51, 66, 70, 79
Panagia, 66-67
 Paphnoutios the Great, Saint, 80
 Paschaltide, 42, 64
 Passion of Christ, 73
 passions, 41, 43, 46
 Patrick of Armagh, Saint, 10-12, 15-20, 21, 77
 Paul of Thebes, Saint, 32, 34, 57
 Paul the Apostle, Saint, 17

Paul the Simple, Saint, 34
pausantium, 74
 penance, 30, 41-42
Penitential, 42
 penitentials, 13, 37
 Pentecost, 64
 Pictland, 37
 pilgrimages, 30-32, 50, 76
 πνευματικὴ θυσία, 74
 possessionlessness, 41
 poverty, 17, 39, 43
 prayer, 14, 17, 33, 38-40, 45-46,
 61, 67, 79, 81
 pride, 42-43
 Priests, 19, 72, 81
prime, 63, 79
 private property, 39
 prophecy, 38
 Prophets, Holy, 32, 73
 Psalms and the Psalter, 33-34, 41,
 63-64, 67, 79
 пустыня, 52

R

"red Martyrdom," 30
Regula Cænobialis, 37, 40, 66
Regula Monachorum, 40
 renunciation, 30-31
 repentance, 30
 Resurrection of Christ, 42, 73
 ῥητιδία, 58
 Roman Catholic monasticism, 16
 Roman Empire, 10, 81-82
 Roman Rite, 68
 Romania, 23
 Rome, 10, 32, 64
 Rome, Pope of, 29

Rufinus of Aquileia, 51
Rule of Bangor, The, 56
Rule of Saint Casarius of Arles, The,
 80
Rule of Saint Columba, The, 37-39
Rule of Saint Columbanus, The, 40-
 41
Rule of Saint Pachomios, The, 39, 42
Rule of the Holy Fathers Serapion,
 Macarios, Paphnoutios, and
 Another Macarios, The, 80
 Russia, 23, 28, 35
 Russian, 52

S

Sabbas the Sanctified, Saint, 24
sacrificium spirituale, 73
 Saturdays, 63-64, 80
 Scetis, 22, 26, 59
 Scotland, 9, 20, 36-37, 54, 58
 Scottia, 9, 37, 69
scriptoria, 33
 Scripture, Holy, 24-25, 33, 40
 sculpture, 57
 Second Coming of Christ, 73
Second Rule of the Fathers, The, 80
 secular music, 38
 semi-eremites and semi-eremitism,
 14, 18, 24, 26, 36, 70, 78
 Serapion of Thmuis, Saint, 80
 Serapion the Sindonite, Saint, 32
 Sergios of Radonezh, Saint, 35
sext, 63, 79
 shrines, 72
 silence, 39-42
 Sixth Hour, the, 63, 66
 Sophronios of Jerusalem, Saint, 27

Spain, 12, 53, 75

stewards, 42

Stowe, 72

Stowe Missal, The, 72, 74

Sundays, 42, 63-64

Synaxis, 52

Syria, 24, 26-27, 29, 50, 56, 66

T

terce, 63, 79

Thebaïd, the, 14, 26, 28

Third Hour, the, 63-64, 66

Tonsure, Holy, 47-48

"travel guides," 50

U

Ukraine, 23

V

vainglory, 43

"veiling of women," 71

Vespers, 66, 79

Vice-Abbotcies, 43

vigila, 66

Vincent of Lérins, Saint, 76

W

Wales, 9, 11-12, 17

Warren, Frederick Edward, 66, 74

"*Warrior*," 34

Wessel, Klaus, 56

West Syrian Rite, 68

"white Martyrdom," 30

Winchester Cathedral, 58

THE EGYPTIAN DESERT IN THE IRISH BOGS

by Father Gregory Telepneff

Other selected publications by the C.T.O.S.:

- *Orthodox and Roman Catholic Relations from the Fourth Crusade to the Hesychastic Controversy*
by Archbishop Chrysostomos
- *The Paschal Fire in Jerusalem: A Study of the Rite of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*
by Bishop Auxentios of Photiki
- *Fasting in the Orthodox Church: Its Theological, Pastoral, and Social Implications*
by Archimandrite Akakios
- *A Scientific Examination of the Orthodox Church Calendar, or the Old Calendar and Science*
by Hieromonk Cassian
- *A Guide to Orthodox Life: Some Beliefs, Customs, and Traditions of the Church*
by Father David Cownie and
Presbytera Juliana Cownie
- *Saints of England's Golden Age: A Collection of the Lives of Holy Men and Women Who Flourished in Orthodox Christian Britain*
by Vladimir Moss

